SPECIAL "FAKE BUT ACCURATE" ISSUE*
*SEE THE SCRAPBOOK, PAGE 2

the weekly Standard

SEPTEMBER 27, 2004 • $3.95

With Friends Like These...

Dan Rather vs. the Bloggers
by Jonathan V. Last

Kitty Kelley's "Pathography"
by Andrew Ferguson

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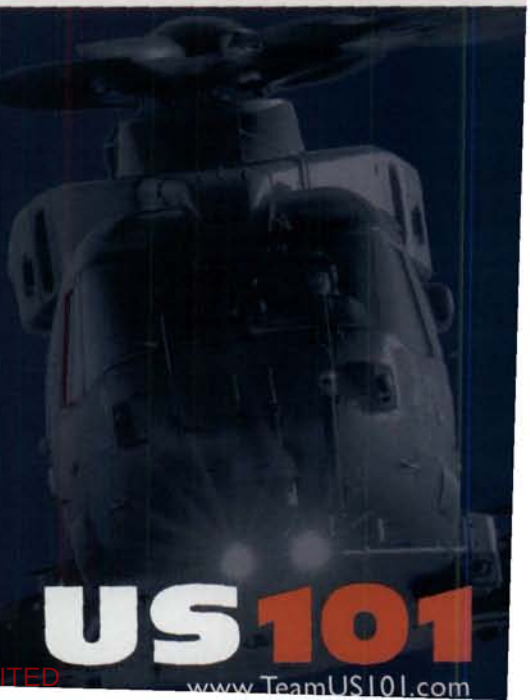

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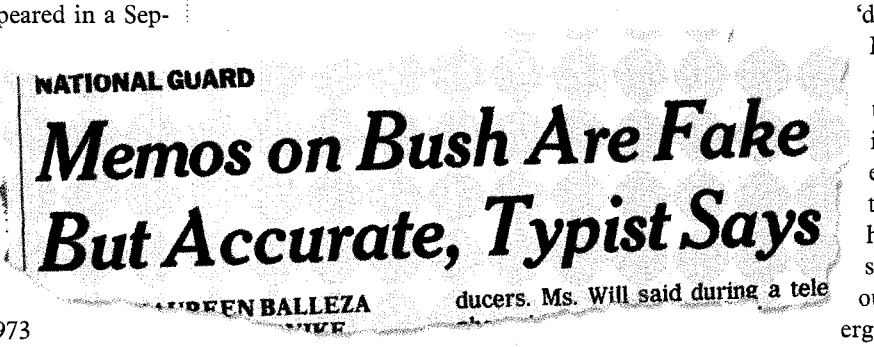
The "Fake But Accurate" Media

We can't say when the obituaries of the CBS news division will finally be written, but we now know what it will say on the tombstone: "Fake But Accurate!"

The phrase first appeared in a September 15, 2004, *New York Times* article about CBS's "exclusive": Texas National Guard memos attesting to dereliction of duty by George W. Bush, memos supposedly typed in 1972 and 1973 but actually produced on a personal computer. All credit to the *Times* headline writer, but he was only crystallizing CBS's corrupt defense of its bogus story. Dan Rather admitted he'd been chasing the story for five years—proof that there was *something* in George W. Bush's National Guard record that would convince people not to vote for him. And he wasn't about to let a faked document or two get in the way. As he said when the memos were first questioned, "I know that this story is true."


NATIONAL GUARD

Memos on Bush Are Fake But Accurate, Typist Says

EEN BALLEZA

ducers. Ms. Will said during a tele

We don't know, but we suspect, that when Rather wasn't pursuing his Great White Whale of a story, he was watching way too much *Celebrity Poker*. Because when Rather's memos got laughed out of court by millions of Internet-empowered fact-checkers, he didn't fold. Instead, he grabbed CBS's entire pile of chips and bluffed: "All in."

Bloggers have owned the CBS story from the start, so we'll give the last word here to our favorite, James Lileks: "The whole 'fake but accurate' line shows how tone-deaf these people are; it's like saying a body in a pine box is 'dead but lifelike.' It boggles, it really does: the story is true, the evidence is faked, but the evidence reflects the evidence we have not yet presented that proves our conclusion—ergo, we're telling the truth. . . . Look. They're fake. CBS . . . pursued the story for years, and in the end they lost perspective, just as lousy pilots become disoriented in bad weather and think they're flying level when they're actually heading down at a 45 degree angle. . . . The fruit of the poisoned tree, baked in a nice pie, smashed in the face of the accuser." ♦

Baerly Believable

Writing in the September 27 issue of the *Nation*, bestselling author and former CIA operative Robert Baer wants us to know that David Ray Griffin—author of *The New Pearl Harbor: Disturbing Questions About the Bush Administration and 9/11* and a professor at the Claremont School of Theology—is "a thoughtful, well-informed theologian" who "feels he has no choice" when it comes to spreading the crackpot anti-Bush conspiracy theories in his book. However, "the catastrophic failures" of that "awful day" are "so implausible and the lies about Iraq so blatant" that Griffin just had to write *The New Pearl Harbor* (you know, like the one FDR let happen).

Baer himself hasn't quite ended up out where the buses don't run. His unique contribution to literary apologetics is to blame Bush for Griffin's book—"What's different about this conspiracy theory," Baer writes, "is the degree to which it has been helped along by its main suspect: the Administration of George W. Bush." You see, "By consciously misleading Americans about Saddam Hussein's role in September 11 to justify an invasion, Bush answered the question every good conspiracy theory turns on: Who benefits?"

And so it goes, for 1,400 words, as Baer (we hope) stifles a snort or two at Griffin's claims: that an American missile, not American Airlines Flight 77, hit the Pentagon on 9/11; that the Bush administration knew the attacks were coming but did nothing to stop them; and that it was "impossible" for the Twin Towers to collapse from the plane attacks alone, so they "had to have been brought down by internal explosives."

Still, Baer thinks, Griffin's book is "important," because "someone, after all, should be asking in print why our foreign policy seems to have fallen into the hands of some malevolent band of Marx Brothers." Unfortunately, because he is an "outsider," Griffin "falls back" on "wacky theories."

The *Nation*'s review of *The New Pearl Harbor* ends on a wistful note. Griffin's theories "will never be put to rest" as long as Bush "refuses to explain why" he "dragged this country into the most senseless war in its history." And, since that's unlikely to happen, "otherwise reasonable" people will continue to think "the Bush administration ben-

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efited from 9/11," and "there will always be a question about what really happened on that day."

Next week in the *Nation*: Alexander Cockburn reviews the "important" new work *Protocols of the Elders of Zion: Fake But Accurate!* ♦

John Kerry, Racebaiter

John Kerry has revived his most shameless and dishonest talking point: that Republicans disenfranchised black voters in Florida in the 2000 election and are planning to do so again. He made this argument to the NAACP in July. Addressing the National Baptist Convention on September 9, Kerry did it again.

"The other side says that a million African-American votes not counted, continuing acts of voter suppression, and the most tainted election in American history is the best that we can do," Kerry said. "That's W. That's wrong. And we're not going to let it happen again. This time, we will fight to make sure every vote is counted and every vote counts. And we are already on the ground in Florida and elsewhere to make sure that nothing stands in the way."

Leave aside the risible claim that 2000 was "the most tainted election in American history." (What about 1824? 1876?) Kerry's charge that African-American votes were deliberately suppressed in Florida is a serious allegation. It is also a calumny—one that was refuted by the June 2001 report of U.S. Civil Rights commissioners Abigail Thernstrom and Russell Redenbaugh.

Their analysis, a dissent from the Commission's hopelessly flawed majority report, reached these conclusions (among others): Rates of ballot spoilage in Florida 2000 were statistically unconnected to the race of voters. In 24 of the 25 counties with the highest spoilage rates, Democrats supervised voting. There was no racial discrimination involved with the "purge list" of felons who were ineligible to vote. And, most important, no evidence was ever produced that Florida police racially profiled at roadblocks or otherwise hindered black voters.

Maybe John Kerry should read the Thernstrom-Redenbaugh report. But we're not holding our breath. ♦

Great Moments in Lawyering

Lawyer David Van Os explains to the *New York Times* why his client, whom many suspect of providing the forged Texas National Guard memos to CBS News, is an innocent man:

"If, hypothetically, Bill Burkett or anyone else, any other individual, had prepared or had typed on a word processor as some of the journalists are presuming, without much evidence, if someone in the year 2004 had prepared on a word processor replicas of documents that they believed had existed in 1972 or 1973—which Bill Burkett has absolutely not done—what difference would it make?"

Convinced? Didn't think so. ♦

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Casual

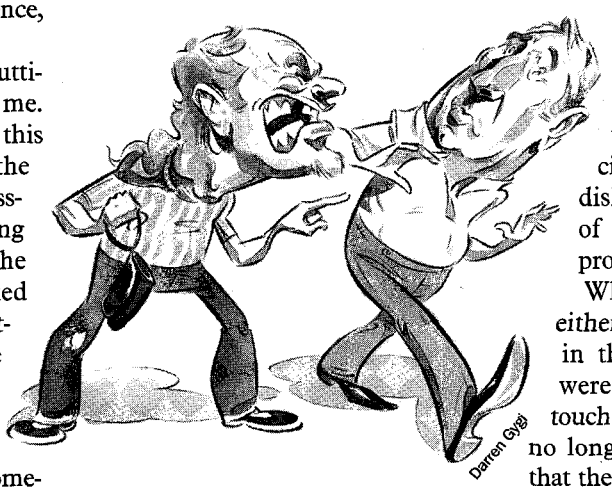
Letter from Bedlam

This morning, out for my regular constitutional, I was called Adolf and accused of being a Nazi by a man with long orangish hair carrying a purse. I saw him coming down the block, and I nodded to him, for he had turned up some months ago at a book promotion talk I gave at a nearby Borders. During the question-and-answer session, as part of an otherwise less than clear general statement, he'd quoted Emerson—almost always, in my experience, a sign of nuttiness to come.

But now, beyond mere quaint nuttiness, the man was screaming at me. "We don't need people like you in this country," he yelled. "Get out of the United States—now!" He was missing several lower teeth. Reasoning with him was not among the responses available to me. I voted with my feet, walking, actually trotting, away, leaving him cursing me on the otherwise quiet street. I walked on, unnerved.

Five mornings previous, out again for my walk, I ran into a homeless woman I have occasionally met in the neighborhood. Usually I find her, with three suitcases, sitting in her blue raincoat on the side-entrance steps to the library, waiting for it to open. One day, as I held the door to the library for her, she revealed that she knew who I was. In the calmest of cultivated voices, she told me that she had read my stories and essays, and that she was honored to meet me. Clean in her person, she, too, was missing lots of teeth, uppers and lowers.

When I saw her last week, with her luggage and her raincoat, she told me, in her habitually calm voice, that she was very worried, because she knew a great wrong had been committed and she felt that she had to do something about it. When I asked her what the wrong was, she mentioned the death, roughly nine months earlier, of a local newspaper columnist, who was found in his car in his carbon-dioxide filled garage, apparently a suicide. She didn't think it was a suicide. She thought that powerful interests in the trucking industry, which the columnist had been attacking, had murdered him. Knowing this, she couldn't, she said, stand by and do nothing about it. I implored her that nothing was precisely what she must do about it, though my advice didn't get through. Crumpling a twenty in my pocket, I offered to buy her breakfast, which she politely turned down. We parted on good terms.



Another neighborhood character, an older man who sits selling a homeless paper in front of a local supermarket I patronize, used to engage me in conversation on a wide variety of topics. "What do you know about Nietzsche?" he once asked. Every so often he would drop a resounding name; he once mentioned having met, in a hotel in St. Louis, Casey Stengel (clang). We had these brief, pleasant interchanges for a number of years.

Then suddenly I noted him turn away when I passed. After a few weeks of this, I asked him if I had done anything to offend him. "You know that conversation we had in the library?" he said. (We had had no conversation in the library.) "I know you reported every word of it to the police." And then he went off into a tirade about the local police being out to get him. We haven't spoken since.

Reading these paragraphs you will think I live in Bedlam. I don't, but there are in town two halfway houses for the undangerously mad. Some walk along muttering to themselves; others, drugged to the gunnels, silently trudge the streets through the day. Somehow one notices them more during the quiet hours. They all were—many may still well be—other people's children.

Who knows how many came into life with the wretched luck of bad brain chemistries and other disastrous mental jigeroos? Many others may have been battered by life itself into their various paranoias, hallucinatory states, ungodly mental dishevelments. For all, the price of a reasonably tranquil life proved exorbitant.

What purpose can insanity serve, either for those afflicted with it or in the grand scheme? The mad were once considered saintly, in touch with higher things, but surely no longer. One would like to think that there exists a segment of the happy mad, who hallucinate only lovely things, but I doubt it.

When a maniac is yelling in my face, as the orange-haired man did yesterday, I am made to realize the unexplained terror life can hold and the great good luck of all of us who, for now, are on the right side of the divide between the mad and the sane.

I, who believe in the existence of evil, who do not consider a just world in the realm of possibility, who grow more and more impressed with the mysteries of life, nonetheless find madness a deep affront to my rationality. Is this because the mad remind me that the notion that the world is itself a rational place might just be the greatest hallucination of all?

Joseph Epstein

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The scary part is, it co-stars Republicans.

Hollywood is trying to crush innovation to maintain its monopoly. And this time they've enlisted Republican lawmakers to help them do it. Their latest production, the "Induce Act" (S. 2560), could outlaw a wide range of technology, including peer-to-peer.

S. 2560 **threatens the personal property rights of Americans** because Hollywood fat cats think their intellectual property rights are more important.

S. 2560 **will be a boon for Hollywood's trial lawyer friends**. It creates a new category of lawsuits designed to harass companies developing technologies Hollywood deem unsuitable. Technologies that keep America competitive and deliver more diversity, efficiency and choice in a way unequaled by Hollywood's entertainment distribution monopoly.

Compromising property rights and encouraging predatory, costly litigation is not a conservative position.

This is one bill that shouldn't play anywhere.

Vote "NO" on S. 2560

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The Truman-Bush GOP

William Kristol rightly observes that Democrats loyal to the Roosevelt-Truman-Scoop Jackson tradition of muscular internationalism no longer have a home in their party ("The Majority Party," Sept. 13).

In earlier times, the two major parties had different philosophies and methods, but the same desired end: the betterment of the United States and its citizens in the world community. Today, this seems less the case, and there is an increasingly powerful leftist segment within the Democratic party.

If President Bush takes the necessary and proactive approach delineated by Kristol's editorial, the Republicans can become a real majority party. By absorbing the remaining Roosevelt-Truman-Jackson Democrats into a GOP coalition, Bush would dramatically alter the political landscape. He would create a party representing the values of a majority of Americans.

Such a domestic realignment should be welcomed wholeheartedly at a time when we, as a nation, are at a crossroads in our destiny.

Douglas R. Turner
Amston, CT

Get Realist

David Gelernter argues that the United States, because it is now the world's only superpower, has a moral obligation to overthrow tyrannical governments ("Bush's Greatness," Sept. 13).

To be sure, this concept is a radical departure from our past history and has absolutely no constitutional basis. It is also at odds with the "just-war" theory developed in Christian theology over the last 1,600 years, because it would involve the United States military in offensive wars (as opposed to purely defensive wars).

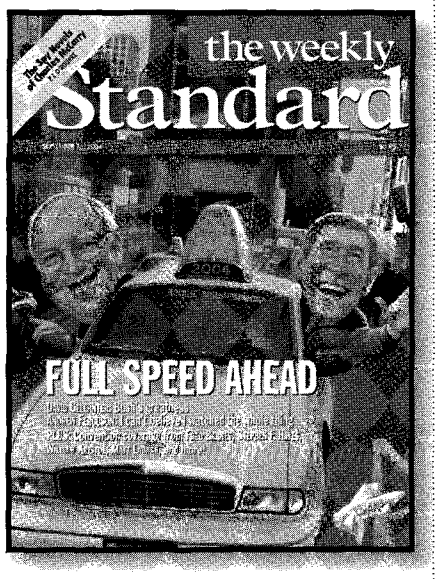
Furthermore, as Gelernter himself hints, there are still limits on the exercise of American power. No matter how tyrannical the Chinese regime may be, for example, America cannot overthrow it without risking self-destruction in a nuclear war. The Marines are not going to storm the beaches of the South China Sea anytime soon.

Gelernter also indirectly disparages those nations that did not support the Iraq operation. This is, unfortunately, characteristic of the Bush administration and its supporters.

The nations of Canada, France, and Germany participated in the war in Afghanistan because they thought it was the right thing to do. They did not join in the Iraq war because they principally disagreed with it.

Adult statesmen can disagree in good faith over the merits of foreign policy. They should not be labeled children for doing so.

In the early 1980s, for that matter, French troops went into Chad to prevent a takeover by the Libyan regime. The



French succeeded in their mission. But the United States decided not to participate in that operation.

John Maher
Chicago, IL

New York Strangers

Regarding Matthew Continetti's "Republican-Americans" (Casual, Sept. 13): The intolerance frequently displayed by many liberal Democrats—who, ironically, call *Republicans* intolerant—never ceases to amaze me.

I am vice president of the New York Young Republican Club—an organization of politically active young professionals (aged 18-40) in the Big Apple. So I have witnessed all kinds of intolerance directed at Republicans. But the jewel in the crown came a few weeks ago when New York hosted the Republican convention.

I worked at the convention as a volunteer. One particular day, my girlfriend and I were heading to Madison Square Garden to begin our shift. We were wearing our volunteer polo shirts adorned with the RNC 2004 logo. To be sure, we were not necessarily incognito (as New York City liberals prefer Republicans to be).

As we boarded the subway, a woman behind us noticed our shirts. "You know, you're not welcome here," she scoffed. To which my girlfriend appropriately replied: "I live here." Is this New York City Democrats' (very unique) idea of tolerance?

Alas, I've had many similar experiences over the years. Such is the life of "Republican-Americans" in the Big Apple.

Richard Brownell
Queens, NY

He Said, She Said

I am sure Arlington County Manager Ron Carlee would be extremely gratified to know that Andrew Ferguson thinks he is doing a "fantastic" job ("I Can't Believe I Watched the Whole Thing," Sept. 13). But I'm not quite sure how he'd feel about Ferguson referring to him as "she."

Pauline Connole
Alexandria, VA

• • •

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the weekly Standard

Victory or Surrender

Last week was the week the Kerry campaign, facing the increasingly likely prospect of its own electoral defeat, embraced the prospect of defeat in Iraq. Once upon a time, it seemed possible that a Democratic presidential candidate might (plausibly) charge the Bush administration with errors in its conduct of the war in Iraq, and lay out a more effective plan to win it. No longer. John Kerry has apparently decided the war is unwinnable, and he's for getting out.

Thus last week began with Richard Holbrooke, one of Kerry's top foreign policy advisers, saying on *Fox News Sunday* that in Iraq we've created "a mess worse than Vietnam." "Wait a minute, Mr. Ambassador. You're telling me that you think that Iraq is worse than Vietnam?" an incredulous Chris Wallace asked. "Yes. It is strategically worse than Vietnam," Holbrooke responded.

Well, if Iraq is worse than Vietnam, the only thing to do is get out. We are back in 1971, and, as Kerry memorably said then, "How do you ask a man to be the last man to die for a mistake?" You don't. So at midweek, Kerry's allies at *MoveOn.org* released a 30-second ad, "Quagmire." The ad accuses President Bush of having "no real plan to end the war." "It will take a new president," the narrator concludes, "to get us out."

Get us out. That is in fact the real Kerry position, one might even say the real Kerry promise, with respect to Iraq. This became clear when the Democratic candidate spoke Thursday, in Las Vegas, to the National Guard Association. Kerry of course attacked the president for his conduct of the war—but also for "living in a fantasy world of spin," for not acknowledging that we're basically losing the war.

Apart from a very few broad assertions, Kerry didn't offer evidence that we are in fact losing the war. Nor did he bother to explain a single thing he would do differently, now, on the ground in Iraq—because he's not interested in doing anything differently or better. He wants to get out. He didn't say, for example, that he would fight the counterinsurgency more aggressively, or that he would send in more troops, or that he would act more aggressively to bolster Iraqi civilian institutions. There is much in the way of constructive criticism that can be leveled at the Bush administration on these fronts—but Kerry didn't level it. He did promise to "add 40,000 new soldiers to our armed forces"—but, he hastened to add, "not to increase the number of soldiers in Iraq."

So Kerry has no plan, and indeed no intention, to win in Iraq. Kerry never used the verb "to win" or the noun "victory" when discussing Iraq in his Thursday speech. In fact, a look through his speeches suggests it has been months since Kerry used the words "victory" or "win" with respect to Iraq. In the most positive sentence in the National Guard speech, Kerry did say that "it is not too late to turn things around in Iraq and in our global war on terror." But "turning things around" turns out to mean doing whatever we have to do "so our troops can finally come home." Kerry will "end the war," as his friends at *MoveOn.org* put it, not win it.

Come home, America! Kerry will bring our troops home from this latter-day quagmire. Yet to come home from Iraq, to withdraw from Iraq, would be to surrender to the terrorists against whom we're fighting.

Now, Americans don't like the prospect of surrendering to terror. That's why Kerry trails in the presidential race. But it isn't over. Kerry could still win the election if he convinces the American people that we are losing the war in Iraq, that Iraq is hopeless. So the best thing the Bush administration can do over the next six weeks is explain the importance of Iraq in the war on terror, and explain that we are on a path—a difficult path—to victory in Iraq.

But the key, of course, is not just to convince the American people that we're winning the war in Iraq. It is to make sure we're doing everything we can to win the war. The terrorists have every incentive to make October miserable for American and allied troops in Iraq, and for that matter for American and other civilians. The administration therefore needs to be on the strategic offensive—and while that can include tactically defensive and operationally quiet maneuvers, it would be good for the strategic offensive to be visible. The American people will accept casualties if we are on a course to victory. They will rebel at casualties taken if we seem to be in a preelection defensive stall. Trying to play it safe in Iraq over the next month is politically and strategically dangerous. Let Kerry make the case for an America that comes home. Let Bush lead an America that fights and wins.

—*William Kristol*

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Unfortunate Democrats

Despite CBS, the DNC still goes after Bush's National Guard record. BY MATTHEW CONTINETTI

IN 1969, THE CALIFORNIA rock musician John Fogerty wrote a song called "Fortunate Son," recorded it with his band, Creedence Clearwater Revival, and released it on the album *Willy and the Poor Boys*. It is a short song, lasting just over two minutes, and it is an intense one. "*Some folks are born, silver spoon in hand*," Fogerty screeches, and his barely controlled fury, overlaid atop distorted guitars, made the song a classic—one that has popped up ever since in film soundtracks, television commercials, and during the occasional antiwar protest. Last week, Fogerty's song resurfaced as the name of a high-stakes political operation run out of Democratic National Committee headquarters in Washington—and as shorthand for the DNC's accusation against George W. Bush.

"It seemed appropriate," Howard Wolfson said, when I asked him how the project he runs came to be called "Operation Fortunate Son." (We'll call it OFS for short.) The goal of OFS is to paint President Bush as a spoiled "child of privilege" who used his connections to weasel his way into the National Guard, and then later used those same connections to weasel his way out of his Guard commitments. "I think [Fogerty's song] fairly well sums up the president's life and experiences," Wolfson said.

He has been busy. Last week the story of Bush's National Guard service was all over the news, though not in the way the DNC had hoped. Because CBS used now-discredited documents as the hook for its report on the president's Guard years, the CBS story quickly overshadowed the story of Bush's service. But a chunk of the DNC is working day and night, trying to keep alive complaints about Bush's Guard record.

Wolfson is a political consultant, a marathon runner, and one of several Clinton operatives brought aboard the ailing Kerry campaign in recent weeks. In 2000, during Hillary Clinton's successful run for the Senate, he served as the first lady's communications director, and in the course of the 18-month campaign set up a rapid-response "war room" that rivaled her husband's 1992 version. He has mastered the press secretary's art of using clipped, one-word sentences to answer almost any question. Ask him what it was like his first time around at the Kerry campaign, which employed him for four and a half days in early April, and he'll tell you, "Short." And ask him if he ever thought Vietnam would figure so heavily in a 21st-century presidential campaign, and he'll tell you, "Never."

OFS has two goals. "One, we're going to make the point that the president has misled the nation about his National Guard service in the same way that he's misled the nation about so many other issues, like Iraq, the cost of his prescription drug bill, the deficit, the implications of his tax plan, and on and on," Wolfson said. In other words, the DNC wants to turn Bush's time in the Guard into a character issue. "And second," Wolfson went on, "we're going to make this point that he's a son of privilege, a fortunate son, who's had special privileges and favors done for him, and is now in the White House handing out special privileges and favors to special interests, like the oil companies and the pharmaceutical companies."

It might seem a stretch for the Kerry campaign to make "privilege" a key theme of the race. After all, their candidate is the offspring of two venerable New England dynasties—the Forbeses and the Winthrops—and attended a Swiss boarding school, St. Paul's, and Yale before marrying a billionaire heiress. But Wolfson's team is barreling ahead. They have deployed surrogates like Iowa senator Tom Harkin and DNC chairman Terry McAuliffe to talk to reporters at press conferences and in conference calls and television appearances. Wolfson's team has organized veterans, too; some served in the Guard, others did not. The veterans hold press conferences in swing states (Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Ohio, and so on) in which they raise questions about Bush's Guard service.

And Wolfson's team cobbled together a two-and-a-half-minute web movie titled, yet again, "Fortunate Son," which splices Vietnam-era footage with ominous narration and interviews with figures involved in the National Guard controversy. You can hear a few bars of John Fogerty's classic in the background. The video was made after CBS's discredited *60 Minutes* broadcast, and uses footage from it, although not of the documents, which purportedly were typed by Bush's Guard commander in the early 1970s, but actually were produced on a computer with Microsoft Word.

The video came under scrutiny last week, when NBC and CBS both requested the DNC pull the ad because it uses footage from their news shows without permission. "There hasn't been any action on that that I'm aware of," Wolfson told me. A spokesman for the DNC, Jano Cabrera, said the networks' complaints were "under consideration."

Wolfson's operation is well-oiled. His first day at the helm of OFS was Monday, September 6. On September 14, McAuliffe held a press conference and used the "Operation Fortunate

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Son" slogan for the first time. However, OFS was planned much earlier. Look back at the month before the operation began, and aspects of the Democrats' strategy come into focus, like the outline of a figure emerging from the mist.

On August 11, for example, Bob Tuke, the Tennessee state chair of Veterans for Kerry, told a Nashville radio station that, soon, "We may also know why Bush failed to show up for his medical exam that caused him to lose his flight status." A few weeks later, on September 1, liberal blogger Joshua Micah Marshall reported that Dan Rather was working on a *60 Minutes* story about Bush and the Guard. On September 2, the day Bush accepted his party's nomination in New York, the online magazine *Salon* published an exhaustive investigation into the "unanswered questions" surrounding the president's service. On September 6, Terry McAuliffe issued a press release detailing "what we don't know" about Bush's Guard years. Another DNC release on the same topic followed on September 7. Three more followed on September 8, the day *60 Minutes* aired its story featuring the now-discredited Guard memos. One of the DNC releases that day relied heavily on the *60 Minutes* report.

Also on September 8, an independent group called Texans for Truth, whose founder has ties to the anti-Bush group *MoveOn.org*, announced it would run ads on Bush and the Guard in several swing states. A new batch of National Guard documents were released that day, too, and the *Boston Globe* and the Associated Press both featured stories on the new finds. The *Globe* story concluded that "Bush fell well short of meeting his military obligation." Then, on September 9, the DNC issued two more press releases that again quoted extensively from the *60 Minutes* report, including from the discredited memos.

The DNC continued to issue press releases on Bush and the Guard, but, after September 9, the releases no longer mentioned the memos. The absence was noticeable. "I think it's a sign that there is plenty to talk about irrespective of the CBS documents," Wolfson told me. "Many other news organizations have done reporting on this. There's a set of facts that are incontrovertible and are not in dispute."

Bush, as featured on the DNC website

What is in dispute, however, is how effective OFS will prove to be. For Bush, who enlisted in the Texas Air National Guard in 1968, was trained as a jet pilot, and was honorably discharged in 1974, questions about his clumsy explanations of some gaps in his service record and about his activities in 1972-1973 are perennials; they've come up in every race he's run. Yet such questions haven't had any discernible effect on voters' behavior in the past. So why is the DNC making an issue out of them once more? Some Democrats said the Kerry campaign was forced into this situation by the Swift Boat Veterans for Truth and their visceral, effective attacks on John Kerry's war record. "I do think that the fact that the president's allies chose to make John Kerry's service an issue makes this topic salient," Wolfson told me. He put it more plainly to Fox's Sean Hannity on September 13: "We are down this road, Sean," he said, "because the so-called Swift boat veterans launched an attack."

It's possible, of course, that OFS could damage the president's campaign. Every time the National Guard issue has been raised, it has receded into the background, overtaken by events. It's hard to make such attacks stick against incumbents, who tend to be judged primarily by their record in office. But Wolfson says the operation will last "until" he is "told otherwise." And every day that the president's National Guard service is a story can't be a good one for the president, can it?

Maybe. "I think Howard's a very talented communications guy who's unfortunately trapped in a very dumb campaign strategy," says Michael Murphy, a Republican political consultant. "The Kerry guys are caught in this reflexive mentality that says, 'Kerry's a war hero, therefore he gets a pass on all criticism, and if anyone attacks him, just compare him to Bush and the Guard and we win the election.' But they've been beating that dead cat for a year now, and they've managed to blow an election they were winning."

Murphy continued quickly.

"So, yeah, the tactics are that they play the Fogerty song, and they put up some stupid web ads, and they attack Bush as the son of privilege," he went on. "They're desperately trying to refight the Vietnam war . . . counterpunching about Guard service."

He paused, searching for the right words. "Kerry ought to follow his own advice to the Foreign Relations Committee," he said, "and get the hell out of Vietnam." ♦

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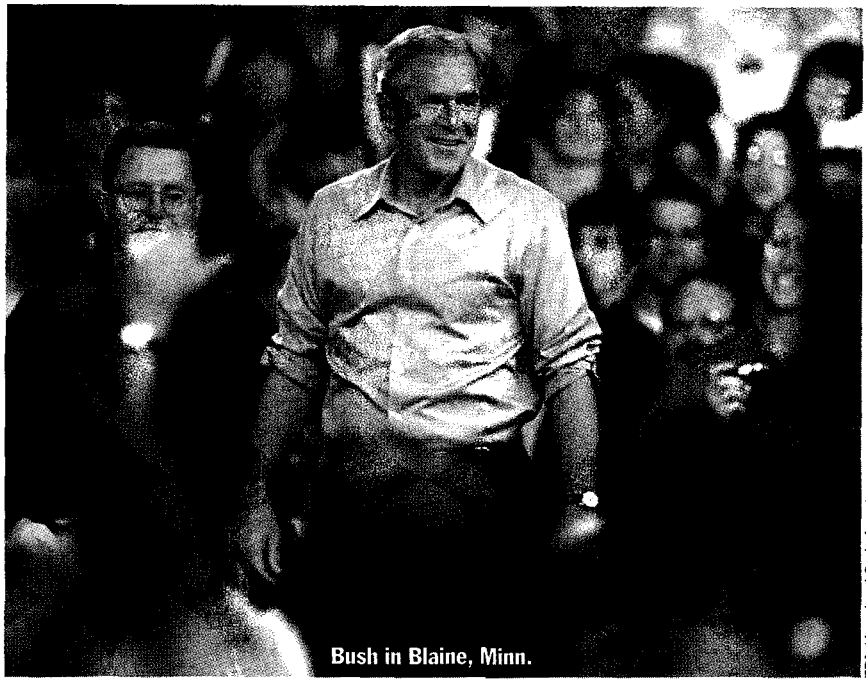

Bush in Blaine, Minn.

EPA / Landov / Craig Lassig

Swinging Right

More Republicans, fewer swing voters.

BY FRED BARNES

WHERE HAVE ALL the swing voters gone? The conventional answer is that the nation has become politically polarized and swing voters have taken sides. There's some truth in this, but there's a better explanation. In disproportionate numbers, swing voters have become Republicans over the past three decades. And though the trend accelerated after the 2000 election and 9/11 terrorist attacks, it's scarcely been mentioned in the 2004 presidential race. But it's playing an enormously important role this year. It gives President Bush political options John Kerry doesn't have. And it makes Bush's reelection more likely.

The new Republican strength means Bush can rely heavily on his base, especially since Republicans are lopsidedly in favor of his reelection. Kerry can't depend as much on his base because Democratic voters are less solidly behind him. Bush can appeal to his base without alienating what's left of swing voters. He manages this by stressing a positive message. But the Democratic base is far more anti-Bush than pro-Kerry, so Kerry must nurture it with vehement attacks on the president. The problem is that swing voters tend to be attracted by positive appeals, not negative assaults.

The shift in swing voters to the Republican party appears in poll after poll. Postelection surveys in 1988 showed 42 percent of voters identified themselves as Republicans or Republican leaners. By 2002, Republican ID had risen to 48.5 percent, as independents dropped from 16 percent to 7 percent. Democratic ID, by the way, also rose, but by a smaller amount—from 42 percent to 45.5 percent. ABC News poll numbers show Republicans plus leaners increasing from 37 percent in 1981 to 43 percent in 2003, as Democrats fell from 50 percent to 46 percent. However, independents decreased only from 9 percent to 8 percent. Why didn't independents decline more? Republican strategists argue—credibly, I think—there's often a two-step transition in party-switching. Democrats become independents, as independents (including many former Democrats) become Republicans.

Frank Newport, editor in chief of the Gallup Poll, says he doesn't know if swing voters are drifting to the Republican party. But Gallup numbers certainly suggest it. Among registered voters, the percentage saying they'd consider voting for someone besides their preferred candidate plummeted from 62 percent in June 1992 all the way to 18 percent in June 2004. During this period, Gallup found Republican ID had risen in 41 states, from a jump of 13 percentage points in Missouri to one percentage point in Iowa. Democratic ID rose in only 6 states.

Both Gallup and the Pew Center have found the number of solid Republican states growing, a phenomenon that wouldn't occur unless swing voters were moving. Gallup listed 7 Republican states in 1993, 20 in 2003. "Swing states tilted nearly as Democratic as the Blue (Gore) states in the late 1990s," Pew said in a report last November. "Even after the 2000 election, Democrats maintained a 36 percent to 31 percent advantage over Republicans in these states. But after 9/11, this gap closed. Swing states now divide evenly: 33 percent Democratic, 33 percent Republican." I think it's safe to say that if swing states are trending Republican, swing voters are too.

Given the trend, it's clear why Bush and Vice President Cheney have spent so much time campaigning in overwhelmingly Republican areas. The aim is to maximize Republican turnout now that it constitutes a bigger and more important share of the electorate. Over the summer, Bush visited the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, a region he won in 2000 and wants to win by a larger margin in 2004. It was the first presidential trip to the Upper Peninsula since William Howard Taft visited in 1911. Bush and Cheney often campaign in rural areas, many of

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which are newly Republican. Strategists like Bush campaign manager Ken Mehlman believe Republican majorities in numerous states—Missouri, for instance—have been achieved by adding rural swing voters to suburban and exurban voters who were already Republicans.

Some doubt whether swing voters are the primary source of Republican gains. But there's no dispute over why the party has advanced: Democratic presidents, liberal Democratic candidates, President Reagan, and 9/11. The Republican base grew after 1968, shrunk as a result of Watergate, then surged during Jimmy Carter's presidency. Democrats led in party identification by 51 percent to 21 percent in 1977. "But with Ronald Reagan in office, the parties drew nearly even by the end of the 1980s," the Pew report said.

In 1994, a troubled Bill Clinton presidency led to a Republican landslide in which the party captured both houses of Congress and a majority of governorships. Republican ID slipped in the late 1990s to 28 percent (Democrats got 33 percent). "The Sept. 11 terrorist attacks, and Bush's response to the attacks, marked a major turning point in party identification," according to Pew. The shift to Republicans had been broadly spread among demographic groups and includes millions of voters whose first experience in politics was a positive one in the Reagan years.

The lesson for Republicans—and Democrats, for that matter—in this new era is never, ever ignore your base. To run a smart national campaign, a Republican adviser says, "you must at all times be trying to appeal to your base." As you might expect, Bush operatives are obsessed with this lesson, so much so they're now concentrating on "convenience voters." Never heard of them? They're Republicans or leaners who might skip voting on November 2 because of their jobs or other distractions. There's no way of knowing exactly who they are, but my guess is many of these folks were once identified as swing voters. ♦

Trigger Happy

The NRA outguns its opponents.

BY KATHERINE MANGU-WARD

SOMETHING HAPPENED last week that sent reporters across the country scurrying for the nearest gun shop. A ban on certain assault weapons, signed into law by President Clinton in 1994, expired on Monday.

Though Bush said he wanted to see the ban extended, there was only coy silence from the White House and the Republican-dominated Congress as the sunset date approached. As the clamor over the expiration from gun control activists grew louder, and John Kerry accused President Bush of being in the NRA's pocket, journalists started salivating over the story they expected to find: "NRA Victory: Wackos Really Excited About Buying Uzis."

What at least a handful of reporters found instead was Mark Thorne, a Bush voter and self-described "peon" at Gilbert's Small Arms Range in Lorton, Virginia. One of the nearest vendors of firearms to downtown Washington, Gilbert's was a popular destination with the fourth estate this week. Gilbert's sells NRA memberships and, "from time to time," guns whose manufacture has been banned for ten years. According to Thorne, there is "nearly always" something in stock that, with a small modification like a collapsible stock or a flash suppressor, would have been illegal under the ban.

Thorne says he finds all the hoopla around the ban's expiration silly. "The only real change we expect is for the cost of pre-ban guns to go down." This, he explains, is because there's nothing anyone can buy now that he couldn't buy a month ago. The difference is that now a short list of "assault weapons" can be *manufactured* in the United States, whereas before they could only be resold.

In short, on Monday it was business as usual for most American gun vendors. Newspapers around the country ended up with headlines like: "Gun Sellers Say Ban Never Really Made Much Difference Anyway."

But those pieces missed the real significance of the day. Even if the assault weapons ban didn't change the situation on the ground for Thorne and his ilk, it's been a metaphorical thorn in the side of the NRA for 10 years. Its uneventful sunsetting is the capstone of an almost absurdly successful four years for the National Rifle Association.

Chris Cox, head of the NRA's legislative lobbying arm, remembers when things weren't so rosy. Four years ago, recalls the young, earnest, and relentlessly on-message Cox, the NRA was dealing with "having the gun control movement basically run out of the White House," where a "sinister plot to circumnavigate the legislature" was afoot. "Those," he sighs, "were clearly the dark days."

But the sun broke through the clouds in 2000, and it's been beach weather for gun nuts ever since. In 2002 "we won 82 percent of our state races, we won 84 percent of Senate races and 94 percent of House races." Because of that, "a lot of candidates started showing up at skeet ranges, and showing ads with a shotgun thrown over their shoulder." Cox credits the NRA's success in 2000 and 2002 with scaring certain candidates so that "they really start to try to run from their anti-gun and anti-Second Amendment past."

And sure enough, two weeks ago Kerry made headlines for graciously accepting a union-made shotgun from

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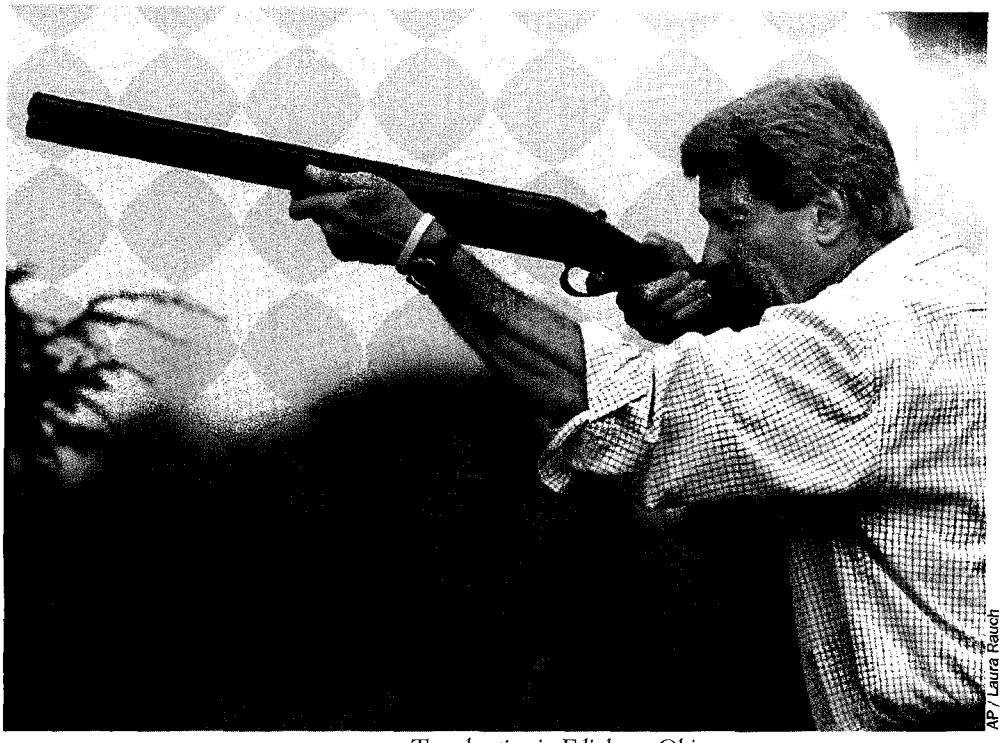

Trap shooting in Edinburg, Ohio

the United Mine Workers of America at a campaign stop in Racine, West Virginia. "I thank you for the gift," said Kerry, "but I can't take it to the debate with me." Kerry has also been known to distribute pictures of himself holding a shotgun, to describe himself as "a gun owner," and to speak fondly of hunting trips he went on at age 12.

In March, speaking on a bill that would elicit his first vote in the Senate that year, Kerry told this story:

> It's interesting that a few months ago I was actually hunting in Iowa. And I was hunting with a sheriff, and with some of his deputies. And as we walked through the field with dogs hunting pheasant, he pointed to a house in back of me, a house they had raided only a few weeks earlier, where, where meth and crack were being sold. And, right beside the bed in the morning when they went in to arrest this criminal—alleged criminal—there was an assault weapon on the floor lying there beside that individual. That sheriff and others across this country do not believe we should be selling these weapons.

This sprint-to-the-center phenomenon reaches the "height of its hypocrisy in John Kerry," says Cox, while at the same time it is a testament to the NRA's influence. Kerry's 20-year Senate record contains "over 50 votes in opposition to the Second Amendment and to hunting." In a painfully cute turn of phrase, Cox notes that Kerry is "trying to camouflage his voting record." Kerry has an "F" rating from the NRA. But his perfect record isn't just a partisan fiction—he also has a 100 percent approval rating from the Brady Campaign, and a 100 percent rating from anti-hunting absolutists at PETA.

And true to his record, in Pennsylvania last week—where legend has it that on the first day of hunting season enough of the state's 1 million hunters emerge to form a body of armed men larger than any army in the world—Kerry lit into Bush. Bush, he said, "never asked the Congress to pass [a renewal of the ban], never pushed the Congress to pass it, never stood up, caves in to the NRA, gives in to the special interests, and America's streets will not be as safe because of the choice that George Bush is making." He has also said that Bush is making "the job of terrorists easier and . . . the job of America's police officers harder." A recent swing puts Bush up 3 to 4 points in the state.

Kerry voted on another gun bill this month, and this time his side won. It was the NRA's only significant defeat this year. Designed to stifle lawsuits against gun manufacturers whose products have been used to commit crimes, the bill passed in the House by a 2-1 margin but was shot down (sorry) in the Senate at the last minute by NRA *backers* when amendments reviving the assault weapons ban were tacked onto it.

The NRA has gained a lot of ground since those "dark days." Pilots can now carry guns into the cockpit; the restrictions on gun merchants have been eased; the assault weapons ban has expired; state legislatures have expanded the right to carry, reinforced protections for shooting ranges, and passed state limits on lawsuits against gun manufacturers; more federal hunting lands have opened up; and, perhaps most impressive, the State Department put a firm kibosh on the United Nations' efforts to effect an international ban on certain firearms. Or, as Cox puts it, "The Bush administration, given their correct interpretation of the Second Amendment, sent representatives to convey the message 'Keep your hands off.'"

This list is indeed impressive. Yet these accomplishments pale beside the remarkable fact that John Kerry, a candidate for the presidency with a substantial anti-gun record, has gone out of his way to be photographed holding a large gun and to reminisce for the record about hunting trips. Even as he consistently votes to defeat the NRA legislatively, he knows that he can't afford not to suck up. Four years ago, the NRA couldn't have foreseen such a thing in its wildest fantasies.

The reporters who trekked from Washington to Lorton the other day hoping to get a story out of Gilbert's Small Arms Range were looking in the wrong place, so they missed the real news. It was unfolding back on Capitol Hill—the latest chapter of the most fantastic fairy tale success story in recent memory. And the person who should be the most nervous about whether this fairy tale ends with a "happily ever after" is John Kerry. Right after the assault weapons ban expired, the NRA formally endorsed George W. Bush—and it's on one heck of a winning streak. ♦

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Another War He Didn't Like

John Kerry's anti-Cold War '84 campaign.

BY DUNCAN CURRIE

AMONG DEMOCRATS, it is fashionable to remember the Cold War as a bipartisan effort. "Until the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989," former senator Bill Bradley has said, "we were sure about one thing: We knew where we stood on foreign policy." The world was simple, according to President Clinton's secretary of state, Madeleine Albright. "There were the Communists, run out of the Soviet Union, and there were us; the good guys and the bad guys . . . it was fairly easy to understand."

We're all Cold Warriors now—now that the Cold War is over.

What about John Kerry? He was definitely not a Cold Warrior, though you wouldn't know it from his campaign, which seldom (if ever) mentions his consistent opposition to Ronald Reagan's foreign and defense policies during the 1980s. Back in those days, Kerry defined himself as the anti-Cold Warrior. At the 1988 Democratic convention, he characterized the Reagan presidency as a time of "moral darkness."

The best place to look for evidence of Kerry's views on the Cold War is his first campaign for the Senate in 1984. Packaged as a candidate who rarely met a weapons system he wouldn't cancel or an international dispute in which America was on the right side, he won.

The race began in mid-January of that year when Massachusetts senator Paul Tsongas announced he was retiring. The foreshortened Democratic primary campaign quickly turned into a four-man race, with Kerry, then lieutenant governor, finding his chief rival in congressman James Shannon. Kerry and Shannon were quite a pair. State secretary Michael Connolly, who was also running, nicknamed them "the liberal twins," while candidate David Bartley, the former state House speaker, referred to them as "litmus-test liberals."

Kerry's platform was among the most liberal of its day. As his *Boston Globe* biographers write in *John F. Kerry*, "the main thrust of Kerry's candidacy was an attack on Reagan's economic, foreign, and military policies." On the three big Cold War issues—the nuclear freeze, military spending, and support for the Nicaraguan contras—Kerry was pro-freeze, anti-defense buildup, and anti-contra aid.

The nuclear freeze in particular was a cause celebre. Kerry and Shannon both courted the pro-freeze crowd intensely. This came easily to Kerry, who in June 1982, while running for lieutenant governor, had spoken at a massive antinuclear rally in New York's Central Park. In that race, Kerry had indeed tried to make the freeze his signature issue, but it never gained traction.

Two years later, as Reagan sought reelection, the political action committee Freeze Voter '84—which called for a U.S.-Soviet moratorium on nuclear weapons—released a questionnaire for national and statewide candidates. Paul Walker, a former Freeze Voter '84 executive, says "Every point you won or lost" on the questionnaire, "potentially represented thousands of voters." Kerry and Shannon each filled it out, and Walker graded their responses. Shannon scored a perfect 100, while Kerry scored a 94. So Shannon would receive the group's endorsement.

Or not. Soon afterward, Walker, though he was supporting Shannon in the primary, contacted Kerry campaign manager Paul Rosenberg and explained how Kerry could modify his answers to gain a perfect score. Rosenberg then sent Kerry a memo—dated May 23, 1984—that was made public by the *Boston Globe* last year. "According to Paul Walker," Rosenberg wrote, "your stated position on the Trident is what marked you down." He continued:

> [Walker] feels that the correct position is to say that you are against funding the Trident sub or missile at this time, and that we should rescind funding for the last six subs because this would put the United States in violation of SALT II. . . .
>
> I think it is critically important that we get a 100 % rating from this group. You should explain (or Jonathan should explain to Paul Walker) how your position was mis-interpreted so that [Walker] will correct the rating before it is distributed to the board tomorrow evening. . . .

Rosenberg noted that "Walker is favorably disposed to change the grading" because he knows "what you must have meant."

Just like that, Kerry revised his questionnaire and tied Shannon with a perfect score. Freeze Voter '84 decided to split its endorsement between the "liberal twins."

When the *Globe* published Rosenberg's memo, Kerry told *Globe* reporter Brian Mooney he did not recall his amendments to the questionnaire. "I wasn't trying to be on both sides of it," Kerry said. The other candidates knew at the time that Kerry had revised his answers, though Shannon says he didn't learn of the memo until the *Globe* publicized it. Freeze Voter '84, Shannon recalls, "had a lot of adherents in Massachusetts." But, he is quick to add, "I don't think you can say [Kerry] was elected by the nuclear freeze movement."

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Kerry naturally opposed the Reagan defense buildup. The Bush campaign loves enumerating the weapons systems Kerry has voted against in the Senate. Recently, some have defended Kerry's record as less dovish than it appears. Voting against a massive defense appropriations bill, the pro-Kerry camp says, is not the same as voting against the specific weapons contained therein.

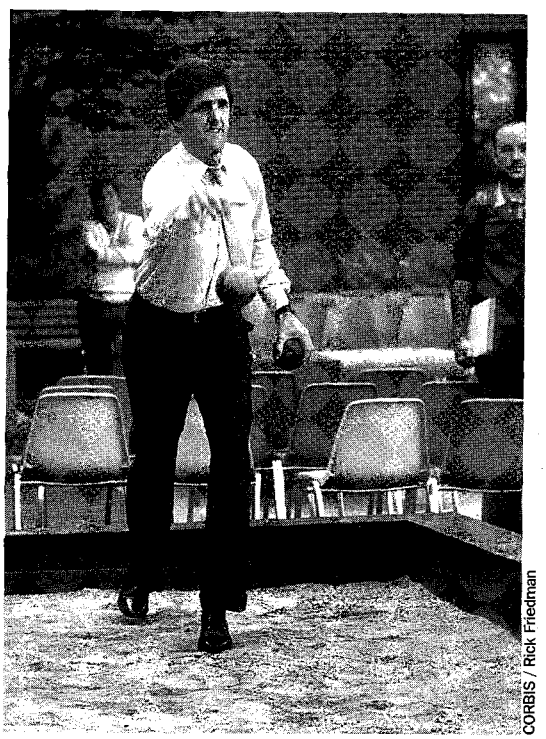
Perhaps. But what's beyond debate is that Kerry, in 1984, said he would cancel at least 27 different weapons systems. He recommended cancellation of, among others, the B-1 bomber; the B-2 stealth bomber; the AH-64 Apache helicopter; the MX missile; the cruise missile; the Patriot air defense missile; the Pershing II missile; the Trident nuclear submarine; the Aegis air-defense cruiser; the AV-8B Harrier jet; and the F-15, F-14A, and F-14D fighter jets. Meanwhile, he advocated reductions in 18 other systems, including the Bradley fighting vehicle, the M-1 Abrams tank, the Tomahawk cruise missile, the F-16 jet, and the joint tactical air system.

Some of these positions, Kerry admitted to the *Globe* last year, now look "ill-advised" and "stupid."

Kerry proposed cutting at least $54 billion from Reagan's proposed $289 billion defense budget for fiscal year 1985; his long-range plan was to slash $200 billion over the next four years. "The biggest defense buildup since World War II has not given us a better defense," Kerry said at the time. "Today, Americans are more threatened by the prospect of war, not less so." He also worried that Reagan's defense spending was siphoning funds from domestic programs. The president "has mortgaged our future in order to pay for a bloated military budget," he declared in February 1984.

Kerry was especially scornful of the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI). Like many SDI critics, he derided the antimissile program as "Star Wars," and said it was "crazy." He also blamed Reagan, not the Soviets, for the failure of arms control talks. The White House, Kerry explained, had placed unreasonable demands on Moscow.

As for Vietnam? Well, yes, Kerry referenced it frequently in the 1984 campaign. Back then, Central America was a hot-button issue. There were Communist-backed civil wars raging in Guatemala, El Salvador, and Honduras; and a Soviet client state was emerging in Nicaragua. Kerry saw it all through the prism of Vietnam. Calling himself a "soldier for peace," he claimed his war service would help him prevent Washington from "making the same mistake again." Kerry told *Newsweek* that Reagan's Central America policies threatened to produce "another chapter in the Vietnam legacy."



CORBIS / Rick Friedman

A game of bocce, during the 1984 campaign

He was most dismayed by the administration's Nicaragua strategy. In supporting the anti-Communist contra rebels, Reagan hoped to push Managua's Sandinista dictatorship toward free elections and greater civil liberties. Conservatives viewed it as totalitarianism versus democracy—the Soviet bloc versus the Free World. Kerry (and many Democrats) did not. "Our policy in Nicaragua is in violation of international law," he said. By aiding the contras, Reagan was damaging America's "moral credibility." And the Soviet-funded Sandinista regime? "We should not be overthrowing that government," Kerry said. He blamed Marxist-Leninist uprisings in Central America *not* on the Russians, Cubans, and Sandinistas, but rather on socioeconomic factors such as poverty.

Kerry also considered the 1983 U.S. liberation of Grenada an unfair fight. In an October 1984 debate, he compared it to "Boston College playing football against the Sisters of Mercy." The American invasion, he told the *Cape Codder* newspaper, "represented a bully's show of force against a weak Third World nation. The invasion only served to heighten world tensions and further strain brittle U.S.-Soviet and North-South relations."

Did his anti-Cold Warrior posture propel Kerry into the Senate? It was certainly a factor. But James Shannon thinks Kerry won the ultra-tight Democratic primary largely because of his better name recognition and experience running statewide. Kerry then faced conservative Republican Ray Shamie in the general election. Shamie, a self-made millionaire who stood to the right of most Bay Staters, never had a chance. When the returns came in on November 6, 1984, Kerry won by a 10-point margin.

Speaking to an overflow crowd at the Sheraton Boston hotel that night, Kerry said his victory had shortened the distance between the Vietnam memorial and the U.S. Capitol. He also recalled his unsuccessful bid for Congress in 1972, when he ran as a radical antiwar candidate. "Like this campaign, that campaign was about peace," Kerry said. "For at least the next six years, that campaign for peace is going to continue." ♦

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Prairie Politics

Daschle, Thune, and the race for South Dakota.

BY JOSEPH BOTTUM

LAST YEAR—on August 16, 2003, speeding in a borrowed white Cadillac down one of those long, dusty South Dakota highways that glide across the plains like endless ribbons—a Republican congressman named Bill Janklow ran a stop sign at 70 miles per hour and killed a passing motorcyclist.

It was a horrible incident, and it brought an end to Janklow's long domination of South Dakota politics. Though routinely reckless, he'd always gotten the good breaks before, pushing his luck so often that it must have seemed to him not luck at all but his right, his privilege, always to have things go his way. His subsequent manslaughter conviction, resignation from Congress, and jail term formed a sad apostrophe to his winning campaigns, his 16 years as governor, his power, and his visibility. "All of my elections have nothing to do with the issues or whoever else is running," he told me in 2002 after he had defeated a perky young Democrat named Stephanie Herseth for Congress. "All of my elections are only about *me*."

The line seemed at the time breathtakingly arrogant—but it was also true, and it remains true even now that he's out of office. With Janklow's conviction last December, a special election gave the congressional seat to Herseth—which made every member of South Dakota's delegation to Washington a Democrat. The destruction of the Republican party in a majority Republican state is the real legacy of 30 years of Janklow's personal dominance.

A native of South Dakota, Joseph Bottum is Books and Arts editor of THE WEEKLY STANDARD.

One hardly needs to add it up: Janklow campaigned against an incumbent Republican named James Abdnor in 1986, and the result was Democrat Tom Daschle's election to the Senate. He systematically undermined every rising Republican from Clint Roberts to Dale Bell, and the result was Democratic Senator Tim Johnson's election in 1996. He opened up South Dakota's sole congressional seat with his manslaughter conviction, and the result was Democrat Stephanie Herseth's special election. Outsiders sometimes wonder why a strongly pro-life state like South Dakota is represented in Washington entirely by pro-abortion officials; the answer is Bill Janklow.

With Janklow gone at last, is this the year South Dakota Republicans recover? Many are excited about Republican John Thune's chances against Daschle in the Senate race, and, indeed, Daschle seems to be in more trouble than he has known since 1978, when he pulled out a last-minute congressional victory by swearing, "I will do everything in my power to persuade others that abortion is wrong"—and getting the nuns who taught him in grade school to write a public letter declaring, "We know and we tell those with whom we speak of your abhorrence for abortion—and of your commitment to life."

Needless to say, that was Daschle then. The Daschle of today writes fundraising letters for the largest abortion lobby in the country and filibusters pro-life judges.

The opposition to Daschle has been making much of this trope of the "two Daschles." Mostly it's been heard from various political action committees and 527s. In 2002, the two main Republican candidates for governor slanged each other so viciously that the state elected in self-defense the nearly unknown Mike Rounds, who ran on a platform that consisted of little besides saying: "I'm a really nice guy, and I don't use negative ads." The Thune campaign seems to have learned the lesson. Of course, the Daschle campaign has learned the lesson as well, screaming "Negative ad!" whenever his record is called into question. But the truth is that Thune's campaign has been very mild.

Still, the message has gotten out: Daschle is one person back home, and another person on the East Coast. In South Dakota, he proudly announces his support for the president; in Washington, he's the minority leader of the Senate who does his best to thwart the president. In South Dakota, he campaigns as a man of the people; in Washington, he and his lobbyist wife recently bought a $1.9 million house, for which they promptly claimed a "homestead" tax credit that requires declaring the house one's primary and legal residence—leaving curiously unresolved the question of how the couple remain registered voters in South Dakota.

On it goes: At home, Daschle supports the war in Iraq; in Washington, he helps the Democrats oppose it. At home, he runs television ads with a picture of a hug from President Bush; in Washington, he gave Michael Moore a congratulatory hug at the premiere of Moore's anti-Bush movie *Fahrenheit 9/11* (or so at least Moore told *Time*, though Daschle denies the embrace). Even on locally important issues—from ethanol development to trade agreements—Daschle presents himself one way while debating Thune at the Dakotafest show in Mitchell, South Dakota, and another way while raising money at ritzy parties on Long Island.

There's reason to think that widespread knowledge of the two Daschles will help Thune. Local commentators made much of the fact that by mid-summer Daschle

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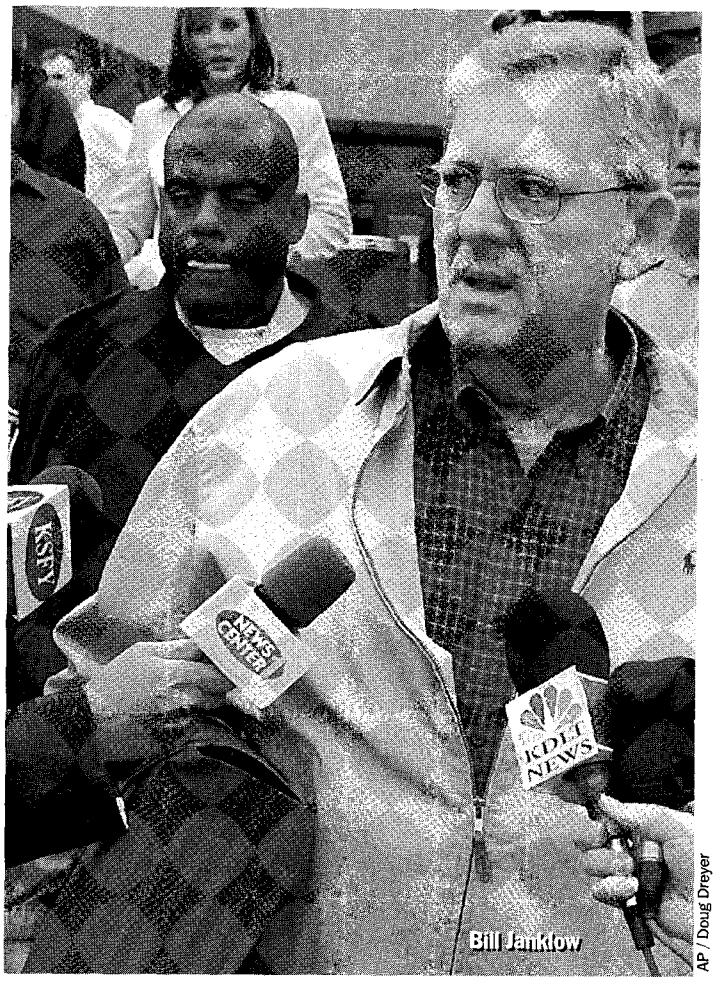
had already spent $9 million and achieved no significant advance. Indeed, the latest poll from Rasmussen Reports has Thune three percentage points ahead of Daschle, a lead within the margin of error but promising.

President Bush's coattails look like another help, as John Kerry is down by 18 points in South Dakota and falling fast—a disaster for local Democratic candidates even in a state like South Dakota whose voters are practiced ticket-splitters. As Stephanie Herseth maintains her lead against Republican opponent Larry Diedrich, some residual unease in the state against having all of its congressional seats filled by Democrats may also hurt Daschle. In Washington, Senate minority whip Harry Reid just gave $1 million to the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee—an opening salvo in a campaign to get his colleagues to choose him as minority leader and a not-very-subtle statement that he thinks Daschle's position is going to be open next year.

But these advantages are not enough yet to put Thune over the top. From George McGovern's 1962 triumph over Joe Bottum (my great-uncle and namesake) to Tim Johnson's 2002 victory over John Thune, the Democrats have had more of what it takes to win close elections in South Dakota. After the 2002 campaign, *National Review* and the *Wall Street Journal* made a great deal of the apparent theft of the election by the manufacture of votes on the Indian reservations. (For those interested, John Fund's new book, *Stealing Elections: How Voter Fraud Threatens Our Democracy*, is worth a look.) But I couldn't bring myself to follow the story with any enthusiasm. Thune should have defeated the almost invisible Tim Johnson by 10 or 20 points, I felt at the time, and almost deserved to have the election stolen for leaving it so close.

So, if Thune couldn't beat the weaker candidate Johnson in 2002, how's he supposed to beat the stronger candidate Daschle in 2004? Well, part of the answer may be better press coverage. The state's dominant newspaper, the Sioux Falls *Argus Leader*, for instance, ran a long profile of Tim Johnson in 2002 so puffy and sweet it should be handed out in journalism school as a model of disingenuous advocacy. A similar performance this year seems unlikely, as the South Dakota bloggers—particularly Jon Lauck at *Daschle v. Thune*, Steve Sibson at *Sibby Online*, and Jason Van Beek at *South Dakota Politics*—have kept relentlessly after the *Argus Leader*.



Bill Janklow

AP / Doug Dreyer

Another part of the answer may be a change in Thune. One prominent observer of the South Dakota scene (who doesn't want to be named) insists that Thune's success as a lobbyist during his two years out of office has brought him confidence he once lacked. Thune's Marlboro-man good looks have always contrasted with Tim Johnson's Play-Doh face and Daschle's mien of an angry elf, but if you look at recent pictures, some character seems to have come into Thune's features. One congressional figure (who *really* doesn't want to be named) says that Thune always seemed a weak man to his colleagues when he was a congressman in Washington, if only in the contrast between his commanding looks and his diffident demeanor. But the age lines and the experience of being out of politics may have brought him the strength he used to miss.

Certainly Thune has hired a more forceful campaign manager in Dick Wadhams this time, and he has had good success at raising money to match Daschle's out-of-state treasure chest. So, too, the higher turnout of a presidential election may help offset the Democrats' vastly superior ability to get their voters to the polls.

But October will see Daschle dashing across the state announcing one pork-barrel project after another. And how exactly is John Thune to combat this? $50,000 for a new firehouse in, say, Spearfish, and $20,000 for a theater in Watertown, or $100,000 for a retirement home in Aberdeen: They bring votes to the man who can provide them, and that's Tom Daschle.

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Indeed, the biggest problem John Thune faces is the change in South Dakota. Nothing happens in the state anymore without federal funding. The pioneers and cowhands who once shocked Teddy Roosevelt with their freedom and independence have become something like servants—inhabitants of a place that seems to survive only because tourists bring in outside dollars when they visit the Black Hills and the state's senators bring home money from Washington. If Daschle's positions on abortion or gun control differ from those of his constituents, if he lives a high-celebrity life in Washington while posing as a populist at home, what's that compared with a federal-pork power that John Thune will need 10 or 20 years in the Senate to match?

During his many years as governor, Bill Janklow was always good at this game, too, culling fiscal conservatives from the Republican party and remaining close friends with Daschle. Janklow never got along with Thune, and persistent rumors suggest Janklow may announce in October that he's voting for Daschle—an unlikely scenario for Daschle to want, given that his manslaughter conviction left Janklow one of the most unpopular men in the state, and Daschle's boast of Janklow's friendship produced titters in the audience at the Dakotafest debate. More, Daschle's appearance as a character witness at Janklow's trial would make the endorsement seem a cold-blooded repayment.

Still, Janklow's associates and friends—particularly Kris Graham, who recently appeared in an anti-Thune ad—are said to be playing key roles in the Democrats' "Republicans for Daschle" campaign, which aims to convince voters that it's all right to split their ticket and vote for both President Bush and Senator Daschle.

That's the world Thune has to run against, the South Dakota of Bill Janklow, and though one poll now has him ahead, he still faces an uphill climb. Without some lucky breaks and real help from the national party, Thune may not make it. ♦

Rewriting the Koran

A bigoted Saudi translation.

BY STEPHEN SCHWARTZ

THE UNITED STATES took the bold step last week of formally designating Saudi Arabia a "country of particular concern" for its lack of religious freedom. In the words of the State Department's 2004 report on religious freedom worldwide, "basic religious freedoms are denied to all [Saudi citizens] but those who adhere to the state-sanctioned version of Sunni Islam . . . commonly called Wahhabi." This incontrovertible statement of fact is a breakthrough in the diplomatic dance of many veils. It casts in a new and somewhat hopeful light certain forms of engagement the administration continues to pursue with the Saudi kingdom.

Thus, also last week, the State Department welcomed a group of professors of religion from Saudi Arabia on a three-week tour of the United States. The stated goal of the visit is to show the 15 guests how Americans handle various issues of public policy and civil society, including state and federal responsibilities in education, the accreditation, financing, and curriculum of public and private schools, the academic study of religions including Islam, religious diversity, and interfaith activities.

All this should indeed be strange and informative to visitors whose delegation is led by five professors from the Imam Mohammed Ibn-Saud Islamic University, a seminary for the training of clerics in Wahhabism. Familiarly known as the "terrorist factory," this institution was the alma mater of three of the 9/11 suicide hijackers. Abd al-Aziz Abd al-Rahman Al-Omari (who was on the first plane to crash into the World Trade Center) met and befriended several bin Ladenite clerics while studying at the Ibn-Saud campus in the city of Qaseem. Ahmed Abdullah Al-Nami (who was on the plane that crashed in Shanksville, Pennsylvania) studied at the university's branch in the city of Abha. And Mohned Mohamed al-Shehri (who was on the plane that struck the South Tower) was recruited, according to Saudi dissident sources, to the bin Laden network directly from the university.

Not only that, but the same seminary ran the Institute of Islamic and Arabic Sciences in America (IIASA) as an extension campus in Fairfax, Virginia, under the supervision of the Department of Religious Affairs of the Saudi Embassy in Washington. Early this year, the State Department expelled 24 Saudis associated with this network for abusing their diplomatic passports to interfere with American religious life.

The most obvious window into the theology taught at Ibn-Saud Islamic University is the Wahhabi Koran, an edition of the Islamic scripture, with commentary, printed in every major European, Asian, and African language in paperback editions that are distributed free or at low cost throughout the world (and are available on the web at *www.kuran.gen.tr/-html/english3*). The fifteenth revised edition of this work was published as *The Noble Qur'ân in the English Language* by Darussalam Publishers and Distributors in Riyadh in 1996. The translators are Muhammad Taqi-ud-Din Al-Hilali and Muhammad

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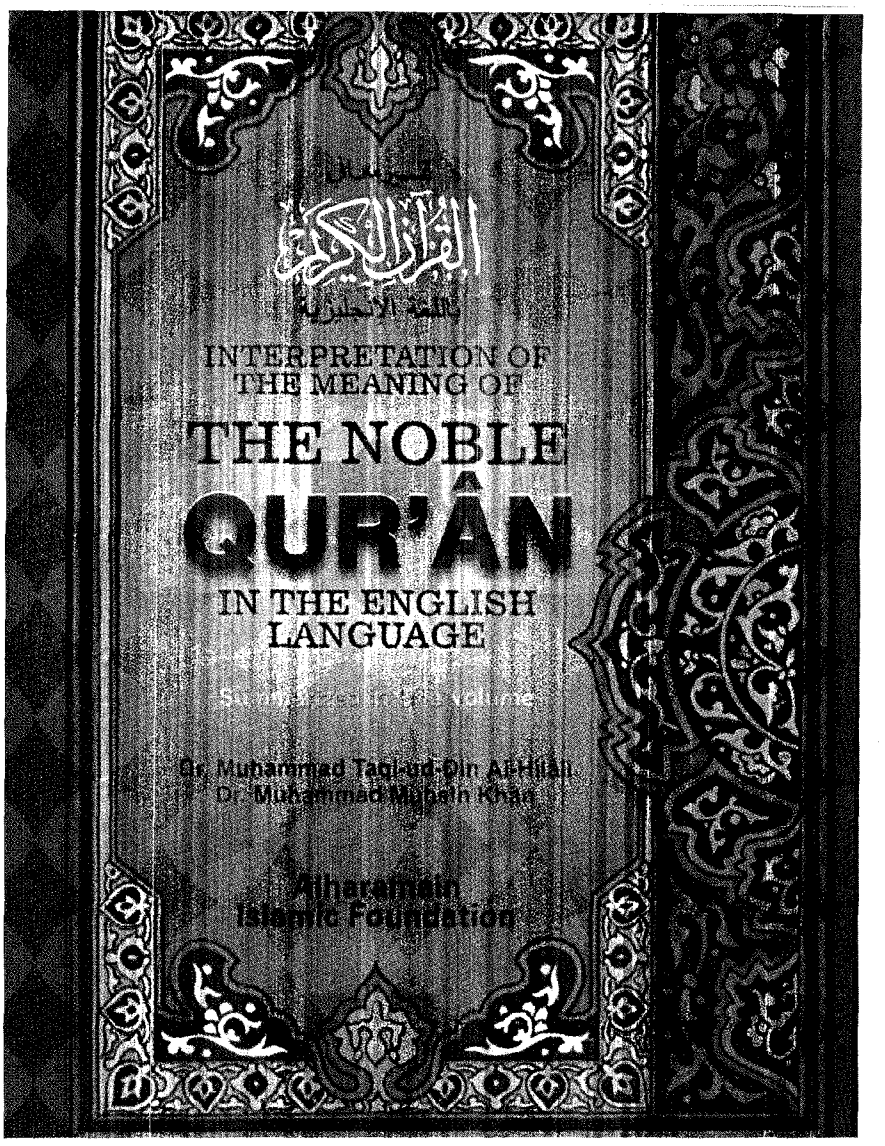
Muhsin Khan, both affiliated with another extremist institution, the Islamic University of Medina, two of whose faculty members are also among the educators being hosted by the State Department.

The Wahhabi Koran is notable in that, while Muslims believe that their sacred text was dictated by God and cannot be altered, the Saudi English version adds to the original so as to change its sense in a radical direction. For example, the opening chapter, or *surah*, is known as *Fatiha*, and is recited in Muslim daily prayer and (among non-Wahhabis) as a memorial to the dead. The four final lines of *Fatiha* read, in a normal rendition of the Arabic original (such as this translation by N.J. Dawood, published by Penguin Books): *Guide us to the straight path, / The path of those whom You have favored, / Not of those who have incurred Your wrath, / Nor of those who have gone astray.*

The Wahhabi Koran renders these lines: *Guide us to the Straight Way. / The Way of those on whom You have bestowed Your Grace, not (the way) of those who have earned Your Anger (such as the Jews), nor of those who went astray (such as the Christians).* The Wahhabi Koran prints this translation alongside the Arabic text, which contains no reference to either Jews or Christians.

There is nothing to indicate to the uninformed reader that these interpolations, printed in parentheses, are absent from the Arabic. The reader encountering Islam for the first time, as well as the Muslim already indoctrinated in Wahhabism, is led to believe that the Koran denounces all Jews and Christians, which it does not.

There are, of course, many individuals who are unprepared to read this translation with a critical eye. This is especially true wherever Wahhabis conduct the missionary outreach called *dawa*—above all in prisons in the United States, Europe, and elsewhere. Indeed, it is to just such readers that this edition is directed. The Wahhabi Koran is also a mainstay of Muslim student groups on campuses throughout the West.



A Wahhabi Koran printed in Riyadh and distributed by the American branch of Saudi Arabia's Alharamain Islamic Foundation. The Treasury Department blacklisted the American branch (headquartered in Ashland, Oregon) on September 9, saying the department's investigation "shows direct links between the U.S. branch and Usama bin Laden."

Distortions of the text stating or implying that God has condemned the Jews and Christians are scattered throughout the Wahhabi Koran. Notably, they invert the meaning of the several verses that express respect for the "People of the Book," the Jews and Christians. Thus, verse 2:62 in its authentic form states: *Believers, Jews, Christians, and Sabaeans—whoever believes in God and the Last Day and does what is right—shall be rewarded by their Lord.* (The Sabaeans were followers of an ancient religion impossible to identify clearly today.) In the Saudi English translation, this passage is footnoted to declare, *No other religion except Islam will be accepted from anyone*, although no such statement appears in the Arabic.

The standard translation of verse 3:113 reads: *There are among the People of the Book some upright men who all night long recite the revelations of God and worship Him, who believe in God and the Last Day, who enjoin justice and forbid evil.*

The Saudi translation again inserts verbiage hostile to non-Muslims. In the Wahhabi Koran, the upright Jews and Christians turn out to be those who convert to Islam: those enjoining *Islamic Monotheism and following Prophet Muhammad* and not *opposing Prophet Muhammad*. To repeat, where the Arabic text actually praises pious Jews and Christians, the Wahhabi English version praises only Jews and Christians who become Muslims.

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The original verse 5:65 says of the Jews and Christians: *If they observe the Torah and the Gospel and what is revealed to them from their Lord, they shall enjoy abundance.*

The Wahhabi edition adds that, in addition to Jews' observing the Torah and Christians' the New Testament, both must accept the Koran—that is, become Muslims—which nowhere appears in the Arabic text and conflicts with traditional Islamic theology. Mainstream Islam treats the Torah, the New Testament, and the Koran as different books. Wahhabism, by contrast, treats the Jewish and Christian scriptures as primitive editions of the Islamic text.

And, inevitably, the Wahhabi Koran adds language aggravating Muslim-Jewish controversies. Verse 17:1 refers to *the night journey*, an out-of-body experience in which the Prophet Muhammad was taken on a magical steed to a site called in the standard text *the farther Temple*. The Wahhabi translation alters this to stake the Islamic claim to Jerusalem. It refers to Muhammad's *journey by night from Al-Masjid-al-Haram (at Makkah) to the farthest mosque (in Jerusalem)*.

Contempt for non-Muslims suffuses Saudi translations of the Islamic holy book. It is a matter of some urgency, then, that federal and state correctional institutions stop allowing the use of the Wahhabi Koran in Islamic teaching. Every prison warden in America should examine his library and replace this volume with an accurate translation.

The same bigotry is integral to the creed taught at the Imam Mohammed Ibn-Saud Islamic University and spread around the world by preachers and missionaries funded by the Saudi royal family. The spotlight the administration has now fixed on Riyadh's policy of religious intolerance may have embarrassed our Saudi visitors this week. If so, their discomfort is only fitting, as long as their universities and their government continue to promote the extremist cult in which terrorism breeds. ♦

The End of Gitmo Limbo

Figuring out what to do with enemy combatants.

BY THOMAS F. POWERS

THE LEGAL LIMBO of the prisoners at Guantanamo is coming to an end. Spurred by the scandalous revelations from Abu Ghraib in late April and three Supreme Court decisions in late June, the administration is belatedly putting in place several layers of due process intended to ensure that the 585 detainees in the war on terror are being justly held. It remains to be seen how adequate and durable these arrangements will prove to be, but they are at the very least important steps.

In the past six weeks, three different kinds of machinery have been set in motion.

First, the detainees are undergoing a "status review." A new, formal, and relatively transparent tribunal is scrutinizing the government's original designation of each detainee as an "enemy combatant." This tribunal has been at work since July 30, and as of September 13 it had processed 38 detainees. A second, permanent tribunal will review each detainee's status designation every year.

Second, some 70 Guantanamo detainees have filed habeas corpus petitions in federal courts demanding that the government justify their detention before the bar. This right was granted them by the Supreme Court this summer in *Rasul* v. *Bush*. It may be that these challenges will be satisfied by the government's new status-review processes. But federal judges could insist that the government do more. Only future litigation will settle the question.

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Third, a small minority of the detainees, named by the president, are being tried for war crimes. Special military courts at Guantanamo called "military commissions" began this work on August 24, when trials for 4 individuals got underway. Another 11 detainees may eventually be tried for violating the laws of war. Controversial ever since the president authorized it in November 2001, the use of military commissions to try war criminals is drawing close scrutiny from civil libertarians.

None of these new arrangements would be needed if the detainees were conventional prisoners of war. The treatment of POWs is detailed in the Geneva Convention, our prime legal guide in these matters. But most of the individuals held at Guantanamo were captured during the war in Afghanistan, fighting for al Qaeda and the Taliban. Because the Geneva Convention does not clearly provide for the treatment of individuals captured on the battlefield who fight without connection to a recognized political authority, or outside an organized military structure, or not in uniform, the United States accorded these prisoners the legal status of "enemy combatant," a designation that includes both "lawful" and "unlawful" combatants. Under Geneva, lawful combatants who are captured become POWs, while unlawful combatants are treated as war criminals.

Designating the Guantanamo detainees enemy combatants raises novel legal and procedural problems the government had not adequately addressed until confronted with *Rasul* v. *Bush*. By giving the Guan-

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Guantanamo detainee

AP / Mark Wilson

tanamo detainees the right to file habeas corpus petitions in federal court, the Supreme Court forced the Defense Department to set up a process by which to justify more clearly their detention. The government had to act so that, as one official put it, "when and if there are habeas petitions, . . . the government will be in a position to say that we fully satisfied our legal obligations."

In another decision handed down this summer, the Court gave further guidance. In *Hamdi* v. *Rumsfeld*—a case involving a terrorism detainee who is a U.S. citizen and who therefore is entitled to a higher standard of procedural protection than noncitizens like the Guantanamo detainees—Justice O'Connor sketched what she deemed acceptable due process for enemy combatant detention. O'Connor said that an individual in Hamdi's situation—he was captured in Afghanistan—should be granted formal notice of his status and an opportunity to challenge it before a neutral decision-maker. She also said that a military commission would be an acceptable forum for such a proceeding, and she cited approvingly procedures for processing POWs and other detainees laid out in Army Regulation 190-8, a general regulation governing military detention.

To put these principles into practice at Guantanamo, the government has created a new Office for the Administrative Review of the Detention of Enemy Combatants, under whose authority the initial Combatant Status Review Tribunal is already working, and the longer-term annual Administrative Review Board will eventually function. In addition, in July the Defense Department created an Office of Detainee Affairs to oversee a Joint Coordinating Committee representing a variety of intelligence agencies and Pentagon offices, and to interact with the International Committee of the Red Cross. But it is the two status-review tribunals that will do the real work of bringing due process to the detainees.

Both of these tribunals will follow Justice O'Connor's guidelines fairly closely. For the initial review of each detainee's "enemy combatant" designation, the Hamdi standards are the baseline, even though the Guantanamo detainees are noncitizens. Each detainee was notified of his rights under the status review hearings as soon as the tribunals were finalized. Detainees have a right to be present at, and to provide evidence and call witnesses before, a tribunal composed of three military officers who are "neutral" in the sense that they have had no prior connection to the detainees. Going beyond AR 190-8 requirements—and hence, according to the Defense Department, beyond what O'Connor requires—each detainee is provided with a "personal representative" to help navigate the proceedings.

Likewise, the guidelines for the annual status-review panel (in the planning since at least last spring and issued September 14) put in place a number of similar procedural rights for detainees. The determination to be made by this tribunal, however, is not whether the detainee is an enemy combatant but whether he continues to pose a security threat or to offer significant intelligence-gathering opportunities. Detainees will have the right to attend the proceedings, will be represented by a military officer, will have access to unclassified material in their case, and will have the right to provide other evidence including written statements from family members and the detainee's national government. The final decision on whether to continue to detain an individual will rest with a designated civilian review official, currently Secretary of the Navy Gordon England. The Geneva Convention does not require any periodic review of detainee status, so this process is a potentially significant safeguard.

These new arrangements at Guantanamo should satisfy the concern for what civil libertarians call a "procedurally rich" approach to terrorism detention, but there have been some complications in the short run. The initial status review has proven much more involved and time-consuming than anticipated. Explaining to a detainee his rights under American procedures, the facts of his case, and how the process works is difficult enough. Add to this the fact that Guantanamo holds people from 40 countries speaking 17 languages and 19 dialects, and the scale of the challenge begins to register. The original goal was to run three review boards six days a week and to process as many as a dozen detainees in a day. The government hoped to complete its review of all 585 detainees in three or four months. As it is, six weeks into the process only 38 individuals have been completely vetted (though 200 files have been opened, and the Pentagon speaks optimistically of "ramping up" the proceedings). The new process made news September 8 when it led to the determination that one individual should no longer be held as an enemy combatant, and should be released. The designation

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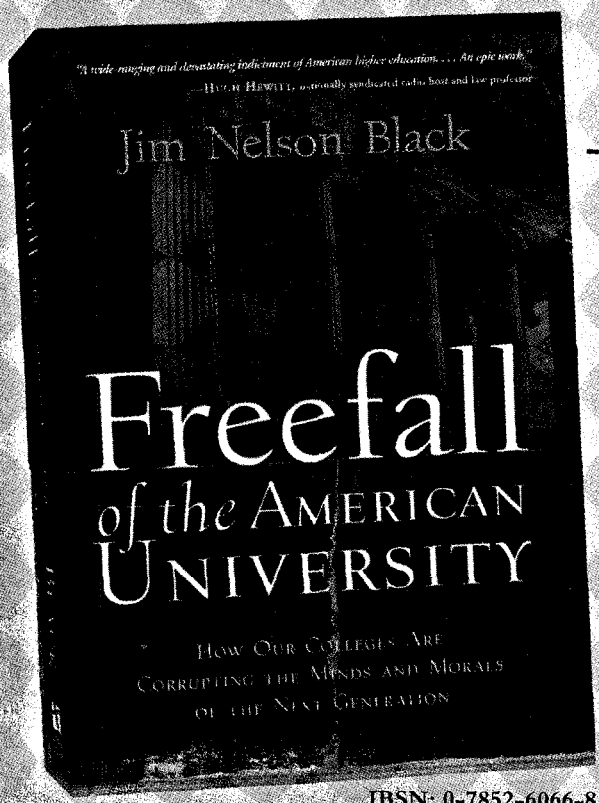
stands in the other 37 cases that have been completed.

Civil libertarians raise several objections to these arrangements. First, they point out that the government has *already* determined that those detained at Guantanamo are enemy combatants (they are called as much in the order establishing the review tribunal). Second, some dismiss the new process as an end-run around the Supreme Court's decision to grant the Guantanamo detainees access to the federal courts. Third, they note that the personal representatives provided to prisoners to guide them through these proceedings are not attorneys, except in the case of detainees being tried for war crimes.

The first two objections are easily answered. While it is true that the new process essentially works to confirm or overturn the original determination that an individual is an enemy combatant (a determination the government insists was itself rigorous), it is hard to object to scrutinizing that earlier decision, especially given the procedural rights that inform the new process. Similarly, if a habeas petition is a means of forcing the government to justify in the open its decision to detain an individual, there can hardly be cause for complaint in the government's stepping forward to do precisely that.

As to the government's rationale for not providing lawyers to terrorism detainees, it has to do with the nature of the process. Since this is an administrative, not judicial, review, in which the only question is one of fact—whether an individual is a continued threat or likely source of intelligence—legal complexities and questions of guilt or innocence are not in play. There is nothing in the Geneva Convention, moreover, to suggest a right to an attorney in such circumstances. And, practically speaking, a right to attorney-client confidentiality for enemy combatants runs counter to common sense. For now, the legal wrangling continues. The 70 habeas petitions already filed, with the leadership and support of civil liberties groups, won't reach any substantive determination for several months.

All in all, the status-review tribunals introduce important procedural requirements and appear to represent an honest effort to address the concerns of civil libertarians, the Supreme Court, and the American public. In particular, Navy secretary England, the man responsible for overseeing the design and implementation of the new arrangements, has displayed a refreshing candor. He has consulted widely with groups like the International Committee of the Red Cross, Amnesty International, and the American Bar Association. He says he is committed to making the process "very fair, clear, precise, and transparent," and he has spoken regularly with the press. Unafraid to admit difficulties as they emerge, England stresses the need to remain flexible and to make improvements on the basis of experience and hindsight.



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As sensible as these reforms are, however, they remain reactive and ad hoc. The government has announced, for example, that the enemy combatant status-review tribunals will apply *only* to the detainees already held at Guantanamo—the subjects of the recent Supreme Court ruling—and not to terrorists detained in the future. But once in place, the new procedures set a standard that is bound to acquire the force of precedent. So why not extend them to all similarly situated terrorist detainees?

Hovering in the background, too, are concerns about the war crimes trials taking place at Guantanamo. The military commissions are strictly separate from the status-review tribunals, but how we view the latter will undoubtedly be shaped by the reputation of the former. The military commission now at work has gotten off to a rocky start. Poor translations and confusion over procedural details marked the first weeks of the trials. The only member of the five-person commission with any legal training, the presiding officer, has been accused of bias because of his close personal relationship to the commission's "convening authority," who reviews commission decisions.

More general, long-standing objections to the very idea of military commissions in due-process-insatiable America also persist. One bold defense attorney at Guantanamo, a Marine Corps major representing one of the war-crime defendants, has questioned the very use of military commissions. While such commissions are in fact consistent with American constitutional history, one may wonder whether a historical standard not invoked since World War II is adequate to current needs.

Despite these question marks, the government's moves to bring orderly, transparent legality to Guantanamo come none too soon. Indeed, it is time to think of involving Congress in legislating permanent arrangements for terrorist detention that are capable of seeing us through what may be a long war. ♦

Diversity Dropouts

What we can learn from historically black colleges. BY MARK BAUERLEIN

LAST MARCH, when the University of Georgia decided to revive race in the admissions process, the Atlanta *Journal-Constitution* hailed the move as sound education policy. "Diversity holds rewards for all students," the editors assured their readers. Set aside talk about remedies for past discrimination and minority role models in high places. By this rationale, an integrated classroom is inherently superior to a monoracial one *on intellectual grounds*. Different skin colors and the experiences that go with them create a more challenging discussion, a sharper mix of viewpoints, leading students to broader conceptions of self and world. Little evidence exists to support the notion, but a *Chronicle of Higher Education* survey showed that 90 percent of college faculty believes it.

The "better learning" argument is worth noting because it makes racial difference an essential component of learning. The cognitive development of a student, it declares, is enhanced by encounters with peers of different skin colors. Pseudo-empirical support comes from "diversity research," a well-funded field that contrives experiments to show that kids think more critically when in the presence of other races. This sets diversity on the same level with strong curricula and quality teachers. Any good school must have it. In last year's decision on affirmative action, Justice Sandra Day O'Connor implied a 25-year cutoff for racial preferences. The "better learning" argument would keep them in perpetuity.

And yet, a mile away from the *Journal-Constitution* offices sit two college campuses that squarely contradict such reasoning. Morehouse College is all-male and Spelman College is all-female, and both are virtually all-black. In 2003, Spelman reported 1 white and 1 Hispanic student in a population of 2,121, while Morehouse tallied 4 Asians, 8 Hispanics, and 3 whites in a student body of 2,770. The culture, too, is all African American. Currently on display at Spelman's Museum of Fine Art is an exhibition that typifies the environment. To commemorate the bicentennial of the Louisiana Purchase, the curators have mounted a show not on Jefferson, Napoleon, or the frontier, but on the position of white and black women in 18th-century New Orleans.

Presidents Walter E. Massey of Morehouse and Beverly Daniel Tatum of Spelman realize the unusual position of historically black colleges in the diversity debate. Both have enjoyed successful careers in predominately white worlds. A Morehouse graduate (1958), Massey has been a professor of physics at Brown University, president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and director of the National Science Foundation. When he came to Morehouse, many considered his move a withdrawal from the center of scientific inquiry. Tatum is a psychologist and author of *"Why Are All the Black Kids Sitting Together in the Cafeteria?" and Other Conversations about Race*. Before joining Spelman in 2002, she

Mark Bauerlein is a professor of English at Emory University.

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Feb. 8	Tuesday	At Sea		
Feb. 9	Wednesday	St. Maarten (Philipsburg), Netherlands Antilles	10:00 a.m.	11:00 p.m.
Feb. 10	Thursday	Tortola (Road Town), British Virgin Islands	7:00 a.m.	6:00 p.m.
Feb. 11	Friday	At Sea		
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was the acting president of Mt. Holyoke College. In July, she told me that colleagues wondered why she chose to leave the white campuses she'd lived in her whole life.

It's true—historically black colleges lie below the radar of most educators. Discussions of affirmative action focus on Ivy League institutions and major state universities, and advocates see race preferences as a tool for social progress. Historically black colleges recall the days of segregation, when they were the only option for students of color. Now, they compete with race-based admissions at other schools, whose officers regard the pursuit of African-American students as a quest. Moreover, the "better learning" argument makes *any* monoracial campus intellectually suspect. In the affirmative action case, when Justice Clarence Thomas asked if diversity arguments apply to historically black colleges, Michigan's counsel John Payton replied, "I believe most every single one of them do have diverse student bodies," and the subject was dropped.

Massey and Tatum think their institutions play a special role in higher education precisely because of their un-diverse racial makeup. Morehouse attracts many black students who've spent their lives as minority figures, often as the only student of color in high school honors classes. They arrive on campus somewhat complacent about their own talents, President Massey says, but, amidst a group of other high-performing black freshmen, the attitude dissipates, competition heats up, and students work harder. At Spelman, President Tatum observes, high school seniors from all over the country apply to escape from the double pressures of being black and female. They come to school feeling alienated and find others of similar experience, the commonality opening them up to the rigors of higher learning. In both cases, an all-black environment relieves the racial identity of the youth. There is no tokenism to complicate their achievement, no condescension to cover over their needs. Students have flexibility in raising and lowering their race consciousness, and freedom to pursue non-race-related subjects.

Diversity proponents worry that a monoracial college experience estranges students from those of other races. Do four years at an all-black institution leave students with a separatist outlook? Not at all, observes President Massey. In fact, it is the tokenism of their high school years that sparks racial tensions, and that Morehouse and Spelman are able to dispel. Besides, Massey and Tatum repeat, their colleges have abundant diversity of other kinds—religious, economic, regional—and President Tatum rightly allows the principle to other schools: "Even in an all-white classroom we can have a diverse environment." Massey insists that while diversity of individuals is a benefit, "we also need a diversity of institutions."

Do four years at an all-black institution leave students with a separatist outlook? Not at all. In fact, it is the tokenism of their high school years that sparks racial tensions.

At other universities, though, racial difference eclipses all others. Long after California voters banned race criteria in 1996, the former Berkeley admissions director wrote, "The aftershocks from that tumultuous, wrenching, and painful period are still reverberating today." One can hardly imagine the same response to losing regional or religious criteria. More important, according to the logic of diversity, a campus that is racially uniform shortchanges its students. A profound kind of learning must be missing.

Again, evidence from Morehouse and Spelman belies the premise. Alma mater of Martin Luther King Jr., Maynard Jackson, and Spike Lee, Morehouse cultivates an ethic of study and attainment. In 2003, the *Wall Street Journal* ranked Morehouse 29th in a poll measuring colleges by how many of their students enter top professional programs. The ranking is remarkable given that Morehouse's endowment of $90 million is dwarfed by the billion-dollar endowments of similarly ranked schools. Spelman, whose alumni include Alice Walker and whose donors include Bill Cosby, is listed as "very difficult" in undergraduate admissions, its selectivity exceeding Smith College, Mt. Holyoke, and Bryn Mawr.

Both schools have shortcomings, to be sure, but they are working against a steamroller in higher education that seeks racial diversity in all things. But you won't hear diversiphiles whisper a word of criticism against them. If pressed, diversiphiles reason that because African Americans live in a white culture, they don't need classroom diversity as much as whites do. But that's not how the "better learning" argument works. Applied to historically black colleges, it says that a "critical mass" of whites is necessary to better education of blacks.

That's the kind of population engineering that takes place in the admissions offices of elite schools. Adapting it to historically black colleges reveals just how manipulative and ideological it is. Massey and Tatum have better things to do, such as developing a Morehouse/Georgia Tech engineering program and overseeing Spelman's Center for Scientific Applications of Mathematics. Their example poses a disquieting paradox for diversiphiles: Spelman and Morehouse students do as well as students at richer and more diverse institutions, and their leaders offer a more nuanced understanding of diversity and less anxious absorption in race than do the multiculturalist promoters at the flagship institutions of higher education. ♦

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What Blogs Have Wrought

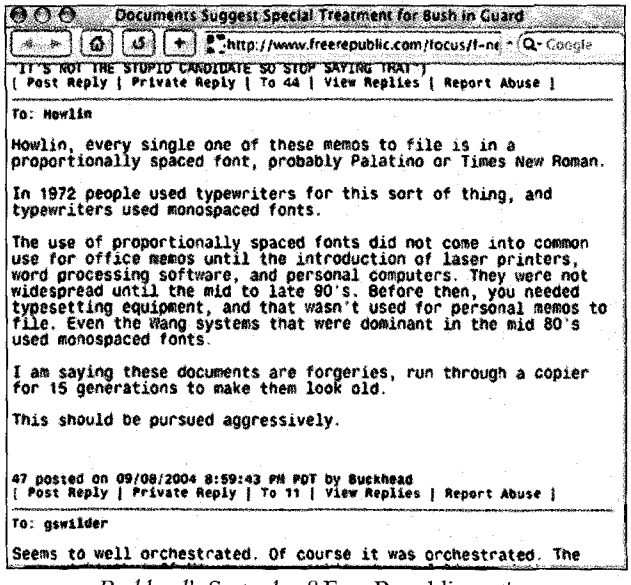
How the guys sitting at their computers in pajamas humiliated the suits at CBS News

By Jonathan V. Last

If you trawl the posting boards at *FreeRepublic.com* long enough, you'll go mad. Hundreds of voices are shouting, spitting, and clamoring for attention at any given moment. The night of Wednesday September 8 was no different. Following the 8 P.M. airing of CBS's *60 Minutes* hit on President Bush's record in the Texas Air National Guard, Freepers were rattling their cages and pinging around the web in anger and disconsolation. On a thread begun in response to a *New York Times* article about the *60 Minutes* story, "tomahawk" wrote, "The MSM [mainstream media] are whores for Kerry, whores for Democrats, and whores for Jihadists. Through their lies and distortions, our country's continued existence is now in doubt."

Amidst this clamor, the post by "Buckhead" could easily have gotten lost. At 11:59 P.M. (all times in this article are Eastern Daylight Time), Buckhead wondered about the fonts and spacing of the memos supposedly typed by Bush's National Guard commander and "newly obtained" by *60 Minutes*. Buckhead speculated that they couldn't have been produced in the early 1970s, when they were dated. "I am saying these documents are forgeries," Buckhead wrote, "run through a copier for 15 generations to make them look old." In an email to The Weekly Standard, Buckhead was loath to claim credit for his insight: "The internet is a big place, and I can't believe that other people didn't notice the same thing around the same time." Nor did he want acclaim: "I don't care to be outed as my alter ego. Day job and all that."

Buckhead's doubts were No. 47 in a list of 217 comments, on one of dozens of such discussion threads. But they were noticed by Tom Mortensen and Liz MacDougald who, the next morning, emailed the link to Scott Johnson, a lawyer in St. Paul. Sitting at home, Johnson reprinted Buckhead on the blog he runs with two fellow lawyers, *Power Line* (*powerlineblog.com*), at 8:51 A.M., and then went to work. When he arrived at the office, he had nearly 50 reader emails waiting for him from people like John Risko, a former Navy clerk and typist, who explained why he, too, thought the memos might be forged.


Documents Suggest Special Treatment for Bush in Guard

http://www.freerepublic.com/focus/f-ne

"IT'S NOT THE STUPID CANDIDATE SO STOP SAYING THAT"]
[Post Reply | Private Reply | To 44 | View Replies | Report Abuse]

To: Howlin

Howlin, every single one of these memos to file is in a proportionally spaced font, probably Palatino or Times New Roman.

In 1972 people used typewriters for this sort of thing, and typewriters used monospaced fonts.

The use of proportionally spaced fonts did not come into common use for office memos until the introduction of laser printers, word processing software, and personal computers. They were not widespread until the mid to late 90's. Before then, you needed typesetting equipment, and that wasn't used for personal memos to file. Even the Wang systems that were dominant in the mid 80's used monospaced fonts.

I am saying these documents are forgeries, run through a copier for 15 generations to make them look old.

This should be pursued aggressively.

47 posted on 09/08/2004 8:59:43 PM PDT by Buckhead
[Post Reply | Private Reply | To 11 | View Replies | Report Abuse]

To: gswilder

Seems to well orchestrated. Of course it was orchestrated. The

Buckhead's September 8 Free Republic *posting*

This small snowball of doubt was about to become an avalanche as something Los Angeles radio host and blogger Hugh Hewitt calls the blogosphere's "multiplier effect" took over. In California, Charles Johnson, who runs the blog *Little Green Footballs*, had seen both Buckhead and *Power Line* and decided to run a test. A desktop publishing pioneer and webpage designer in his day job, Johnson opened Microsoft Word and without changing any of the default settings—tabs, margins, font—created an eerily similar replica of one of the memos in just a few minutes, and posted it at 1:24 P.M. By lunchtime Thursday, the small,

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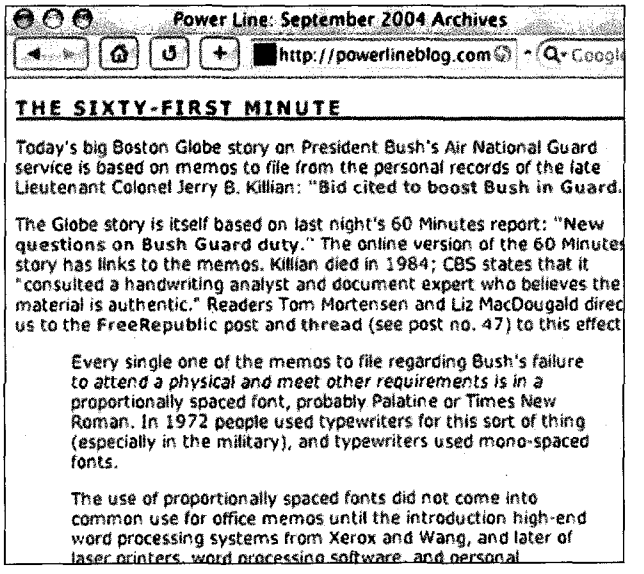
incestuous blog world was humming with the notion that CBS had presented forgeries. The story went nationwide at 2:50 P.M., when the *Drudge Report* linked to *Power Line* with the headline: "'60 Minutes' Documents on Bush Might Be Fake /// 32-year-old documents produced Wednesday by CBSNEWS 60 MINS on Bush's Guard service may have been forged using a current word processing program // typed using a proportional font, not common at that time, and they used a superscript font feature found in today's Microsoft Word program, Internet reports claim . . . Developing . . ."

The server hosting *Power Line* crashed as hundreds of thousands of *Drudge* readers tried to learn about the *60 Minutes* scandal. By 5:00 P.M., CBS was spooked enough to release a statement saying the memos were "thoroughly investigated by independent experts, and we are convinced of their authenticity." At 7:20 P.M., Stephen F. Hayes published a piece on *weeklystandard.com* citing interviews with several forensic document experts, none of whom thought the documents were authentic. Before the night was done, ABC News got in on the action, posting a story on its website calling the memos possible forgeries. In just 24 hours, the CBS story had been almost completely undermined.


Power Line: September 2004 Archives

http://powerlineblog.com

THE SIXTY-FIRST MINUTE

Today's big Boston Globe story on President Bush's Air National Guard service is based on memos to file from the personal records of the late Lieutenant Colonel Jerry B. Killian: "Bid cited to boost Bush in Guard.

The Globe story is itself based on last night's 60 Minutes report: "New questions on Bush Guard duty." The online version of the 60 Minutes story has links to the memos. Killian died in 1984; CBS states that it "consulted a handwriting analyst and document expert who believes the material is authentic." Readers Tom Mortensen and Liz MacDougald direc us to the FreeRepublic post and thread (see post no. 47) to this effect

Every single one of the memos to file regarding Bush's failure to attend a physical and meet other requirements is in a proportionally spaced font, probably Palatine or Times New Roman. In 1972 people used typewriters for this sort of thing (especially in the military), and typewriters used mono-spaced fonts.

The use of proportionally spaced fonts did not come into common use for office memos until the introduction high-end word processing systems from Xerox and Wang, and later of laser printers, word processing software, and personal

Power Line*'s September 9 post*

On Friday, September 10, the left struck back. At a press conference Democratic party chairman Terry McAuliffe denied that Democrats had "anything at all to do with any of those documents." "If I were an aspiring young journalist," McAuliffe noted, "I think I would ask Karl Rove" where the CBS memos came from.

McAuliffe was tacitly admitting that the memos were fake, but the liberal side of the blog world wasn't ready to go that far. On his blog *Talking Points Memo*, Joshua Micah Marshall went further than most, admitting, "The ball is in the court of the publishers of these documents to authenticate them. And so far I'm not hearing any adequate defense." The *American Prospect*'s Matthew Yglesias (on his personal blog) wrote that the CBS memos had "a presumptive validity." He granted that the "would-be debunkers" had "presented a good deal of evidence demonstrating that the documents *might be forgeries* in the sense that it is technologically feasible today to produce things that look just like the memos. This, however, doesn't really get you anywhere unless you can produce some actual *evidence of forging*."

On the far-left *Daily Kos*, "Hunter" posted a lengthy defense of the memos, arguing that, however improbable it might seem, the memos could theoretically have been produced in the early '70s (this would later be proven untrue). David Brock's *MediaMatters.org* chimed in that "the case for their authenticity is strong," while also sounding the McAuliffe theme that if they were fakes, suspicion should fall on Karl Rove. (*Slate* blogger Mickey Kaus noticed the tension: "*Media Matters*," he wrote, "might want to decide if a) the documents are authentic, as argued at the top of their Web page or b) the documents are forgeries planted by Republicans, as argued at the bottom of their Web page. Lawyers are allowed to plead in the alternative, but a) and b) can't both be true, and the evidence *for* each of those propositions is also evidence *against* the other one.")

The partisan liberal sites were joined by a short piece from *PC Magazine*, which supposed that an IBM Selectric Composer could have produced the memos. But this wasn't news. The previous morning, *Power Line*—which had quickly established itself as the blog world's clearinghouse for updates on the story—had posted an email from one John Burgess, saying, "By 1969, I was using an IBM Selectric typewriter, with proportional type balls." Burgess claimed that the Selectric was widely available and could employ the Times New Roman font. The blog world was quickly deep into contemplating the capabilities of the Selectric.

Not so Dan Rather. Ambushed on the street Friday morning by a CNN camera crew, Rather insisted, "The story is true. The story is true." "The Internet," he said, "is filled with all kinds of rumors." That evening, Rather defended the *60 Minutes* story during the *Evening News*. Appearing on the *O'Reilly Factor* shortly afterwards, a former CBS News executive, Jonathan Klein, dismissed the blogs. On the one side, he said, you have a professional news bureaucracy with "multiple layers of checks and balances." With blogs, you have "a guy sitting in his liv-

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http://www.littlegreenfootballs

Bush Guard Documents: Forged

I opened Microsoft Word, set the font to Microsoft's Times New Roman, tabbed over to the default tab stop to enter the date "18 August 1973," then typed the rest of the document purportedly from the personal records of the late Lieutenant Colonel Jerry B. Killian.

And my Microsoft Word version, typed in 2004, is an *exact match* for the documents trumpeted by **CBS News** as "authentic."

A screenshot of the "original" document as found at CBS:

18 August 1973

Memo to File

SUBJECT: CYA

1. Staudt has obviously pressured Hodges more about Bush. I'm having trouble running interference and doing my job. Harris gave me a message today from Grp regarding Bush's OETR and Staudt is pushing to sugar coat it. Bush wasn't here during rating period and I don't have any feedback from 187th in Alabama. I will not rate. Austin is not happy today either.

2. Harris took the call from Grp today. I'll backdate but won't rate. Harris agrees.

A screenshot of my Microsoft Word document:

18 August 1973

Memo to File

SUBJECT: CYA

1. Staudt has obviously pressured Hodges more about Bush. I'm having trouble running interference and doing my job. Harris gave me a message today from Grp regarding Bush's OETR and Staudt is pushing to sugar coat it. Bush wasn't here during rating period and I don't have any feedback from 187th in Alabama. I will not rate. Austin is not happy today either.

2. Harris took the call from Grp today. I'll backdate but won't rate. Harris agrees.

The spacing is not just similar—it is identical in every respect. Notice that the date lines up perfectly, all the line breaks are in the same places, all letters

The Little Green Footballs *Microsoft Word experiment*

ing room in his pajamas writing." Klein's "pajamas" taunt would be seized on throughout the blog world. It would also come to represent the high-water mark of the CBS defense.

On Saturday morning (or late Friday night, if you were reading the websites), two shoes dropped. The *Dallas Morning News* reported that Texas National Guard Col. Walter "Buck" Staudt, whom the August 18, 1973, CBS memo described as applying pressure from above for favorable treatment for George W. Bush, had retired from the Guard a year and a half before, on March 1, 1972. The *Los Angeles Times*, picking up an ABC News story from the night before, reported that Maj. Gen. Bobby Hodges, one of CBS's principal sources and a man they said had authenticated the memos, was claiming that CBS had misled him. Hodges had been read the memos over the phone and thought that they were handwritten. After seeing the actual documents—photocopied documents, that is, since CBS has never claimed even to have seen originals—he declared they were a fraud.

Still, the *Boston Globe* and *New York Times*—which had given lavish play to CBS's National Guard accusations in their Thursday editions—were nominally siding with the network. In their Saturday story, the *Times* reported that "for every expert who said the documents" looked fake, "there seemed to be another who said they could indeed have been authentic." This was demonstrably untrue. In fact, the only pro-CBS "expert" the *Times* was able to find was Bill Glennon, "who worked for IBM in Midtown Manhattan for 14 years and repaired typewriters."

The *Washington Post* was much more circumspect, partly because the only CBS expert who had been revealed was San Francisco handwriting analyst Marcel Matley, who told the *Post*'s Howard Kurtz that CBS had asked him not to give interviews.

The biggest news of the day came again from the Internet, where Joseph M. Newcomer posted on his website (*www.flounder.com/bush.htm*) an incredibly detailed, scientific, 7,000-word explanation of why the documents were necessarily forgeries. Today his account remains definitive.

Apparently moved by Gen. Hodges's testimony, the *New York Times* swung against CBS on Sunday. The *Los Angeles Times*, already skeptical, ran a nearly admiring piece about bloggers. After crediting them with breaking the news, though, the story ended with an attack from Emerson College professor Jeffrey Seglin, who said, "The fear I have is: How do you know who's doing the Web logs? And what happens when this stuff gets into the mainstream, and it eventually turns out that the *60 Minutes*' documents were perfectly legitimate?"

Seglin's fears were misplaced. For one thing, the CBS documents would not turn out to be legitimate. But for another, bloggers are fantastically more transparent than major news organizations, which in their inner workings

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are among the most inscrutable institutions in America. Most blogs have an "About Us" link near the top of their page. Had Seglin clicked this link on *Power Line*, for instance, he would have found that bloggers John Hinderaker, Scott Johnson, and Paul Mirengoff were lawyers with prestigious firms such as Minneapolis's Faegre & Benson and Washington's Akin, Gump. On *Flounder.com*, Newcomer had posted his entire résumé, his home address, his email, and his telephone number. Besides Dan Rather and his lead producer Mary Mapes, Seglin would have been hard pressed to get even the name of a CBS employee who worked on the memo story.

But at least Seglin was able to bring himself to talk about the issue. Some prominent media watchdog groups would barely deign to discuss it. Over at the Poynter Institute (where Seglin was once a media ethics fellow), media critic Jim Romenesko had posted just one tiny item. (Romenesko wouldn't begin covering the story in earnest until September 15, a full week after it first broke.) The *Columbia Journalism Review* was just as bad. Their website, *CampaignDesk.org*, had not a single mention of the CBS story until September 13, when they referenced it in passing during a roundup of blog activity. On September 14, after criticism from this writer, *CampaignDesk*'s managing editor, Steve Lovelady, explained why they were avoiding the story: "It's not clear whether CBS has been had by some undercover operative intent on smearing the president, or whether the network itself is the victim of a smear campaign."

On the night of September 12, however, all that lay in the future. At 11:28 P.M., *Power Line*'s John Hinderaker published a virtual interview with Robert W. Strong, a veteran of the Texas National Guard and one of CBS's key sources. A pair of *Power Line* readers, it turned out, live down the road from Strong near Austin, and Hinderaker furnished them with questions. Again, the Internet was first.

On Monday, the *New York Times* swung fully against CBS, publishing a tough op-ed by William Safire and a pro-blogger piece in their Technology section. The left-wing of the Internet sunk into incoherence. *Media Matters* began publishing oppo-research dossiers on journalists who were covering the CBS story. At the blog of the left-wing *American Prospect*, Nick Confessore speculated that if the documents really were fake, the White House would have released the originals. Unless, Confessore noted, "the original documents make Bush look even worse than the fakes." This was nonsense. CBS claimed that the memos were from the "personal files" of Col. Jerry Killian; even if some "originals" of the memos had existed, Bush would not have had them.

CBS continued spinning during the evening newscast. Dan Rather brought out expert Bill Glennon to testify on the network's behalf. This was the same typewriter repairman who had been quoted in the *New York Times*. Curiously, given CBS's professed contempt for bloggers, Glennon had come to prominence as a blog commenter (first on the *Washington Monthly*'s *Political Animal*, with comments later copied to the *Daily Kos*). As blogger Tim Blair noted, CBS's desperation had overpowered its suspicion of the rumor-filled Internet.

The traditional media, which at first had been following the lead of bloggers, started breaking more and more anti-CBS developments. On Tuesday, September 14, the *Washington Post* published a devastating story in which its reporters (1) demolished Glennon's testimony of just five hours before; (2) brought Newcomer's expert testimony to the fore; and (3) aired the results of their independent analysis, which found "dozens of inconsistencies [in the memos], ranging from conflicting military terminology to different word-processing techniques."

That afternoon the *Dallas Morning News* piled on with an interview of Killian's secretary, who said that her boss had never typed and that she didn't type the memos in question. That night ABC News ran a story with interviews of two document experts who had been consulted by CBS. Both of them claimed to have told CBS that they could not authenticate the documents. One of them, Emily Will, said that she sent CBS "an email message about her concerns and strongly urged the network the night before the broadcast not to use the documents. 'I told them that all the questions I was asking them on Tuesday night, they were going to be asked by hundreds of other document examiners on Thursday if they ran that story.'"

Meanwhile, *Power Line*'s Scott Johnson appeared on Fox News Channel's *Special Report*, a newly minted celebrity.

Regardless of what tack CBS now chooses, the questions about the authenticity of the *60 Minutes* documents are settled. The evening of September 15, Dan Rather cluelessly told the *Washington Post*'s indefatigable media reporter Howard Kurtz, "If the documents are not what we were led to believe, I'd like to break that story." Rather was a week late; *Free Republic*'s Buckhead had scooped him. And dozens of bloggers, whether in pajamas or three-piece suits, had subsequently filled in many of the details. (CBS could still break one big story—Who gave them the forged memos?—but has so far hidden behind an invocation of "longstanding journalistic ethics" governing "confidential sources." So forgers are now sources?) Bloggers, and Internet-savvy writers more

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generally, have now proven that they can ferret out journalistic malpractice and expose the guilty parties.

Part of what makes bloggers well-suited for the role of fact-checking is that there are so many of them. With millions of people blogging and reading blogs, you're bound to find a handful of real experts on any given topic, and these experts can coalesce quite easily. When *National Review Online*'s blogger Jim Geraghty asked readers about James J. Pierce, a new document expert CBS trotted out on September 15, he was deluged with responses. Within an hour, Geraghty had been furnished with a link to a website showing the sort of low-level expert witness business Pierce usually does. As *Little Green Footballs*'s Charles Johnson noted, "It's sort of an open-source intelligence gathering network that draws on expertise from around the world."

This critical mass creates a buzzing marketplace of ideas. To be fair, many of these ideas are bogus, but they are also rapidly exposed as such, sometimes in mere seconds. For example, an exuberant commenter will note that one of CBS's memos carries a Saturday date; another, dripping with condescension, will remind the first that Guard members are called "weekend warriors" for a reason—they drill (and keep office hours) on Saturdays. A number of the specific criticisms of the CBS documents on blogs were overstated, too categorical, or simply wrong. These provided aha! moments for CBS and its blogging partisans, but they were shot down just as quickly by commenters on the blogs criticizing CBS. It is not true, for instance, that typewriters couldn't do superscripts, as some CBS critics too triumphantly generalized. It is true that typewriters couldn't produce the particular superscripts seen in the memos, and that these same superscripts are automatically produced by Microsoft Word.

CBS could still break one big story—Who gave them the forged memos? —but has so far hidden behind an invocation of "longstanding journalistic ethics" governing "confidential sources." So forgers are now sources?

As a recent piece in *Investor's Business Daily* noted, "In the same way the market sifts and analyzes information stocks better than any individual investor or institution ever could, the blogosphere weeds out the chaff." Thus, a lone helpful comment at *FreeRepublic.com* gets quickly elevated into the spotlight, while the multitude of cranky grumblings disappear down the memory hole.

Aside from technological advantages, there seems to be an ideological divide at work, too. The political blog world is arguably more conservative than liberal, though there is a sizable contingent of liberal blogs. But these liberal blogs function more like the old media than do their conservative Internet brethren. While blogs such as *Power Line* and *Little Green Footballs* and *Instapundit* were chasing the CBS story, interviewing experts, posting material as they found it—whether or not it supported the case against CBS—many of the liberal blogs went into entrenched-partisan mode.

With the exception of the September 10 *Daily Kos*, few, if any, liberal blogs contributed any facts to the CBS debate. Few tried to unearth new information; many tried to change the subject; most insisted that there was no reason to believe the memos were forgeries until quite late in the game. Those who rationally weighed the evidence, like the *Washington Monthly*'s Kevin Drum and Josh Marshall's *Talking Points Memo* ("There's a word, though, for these sorts of recreations, if that's what they are: *forgeries*"), were pummeled by the commenters on left-wing blogs.

On September 14, blogger Matthew Yglesias finally conceded that the documents were probably forged. In a fit of pique, he sought to deny bloggers any credit. "They *didn't* break the story," he blogged. "The stuff they posted . . . was all wrong." Besides, Yglesias noted in a later item, "Nothing important about Bush's National Guard record hinges on the accuracy of those memos." Nick Confessore agreed, blogging, "We don't need the CBS memos to know" that Bush is guilty. They were aping the line the *Los Angeles Times* editorial page eventually took: "Whatever the truth, CBS' real error was trying to prove a point that didn't need to be proved. It doesn't take documents for anyone to realize that Bush pulled strings to get into the National Guard." Or, in the now immortal phrase of a *New York Times* headline writer on September 15, "Memos on Bush are Fake But Accurate . . ."

Despite all this, there were still lefty bloggers out in the fever swamps who refused to believe that the documents had been forged. Lindsay Beyerstein continued making attacks on the *Washington Post* blockbuster and then, when they came forward, on the document experts who told CBS not to use the memos. "Notice how this bullshit comes in waves?" Beyerstein sneered. "One claims that she sent an email to CBS urging them not to go ahead with the story because she had doubts about the memos' authenticity. I'd like to see that email."

The Internet is filled with all sorts of crazy stuff these days. Just ask Dan Rather. ♦

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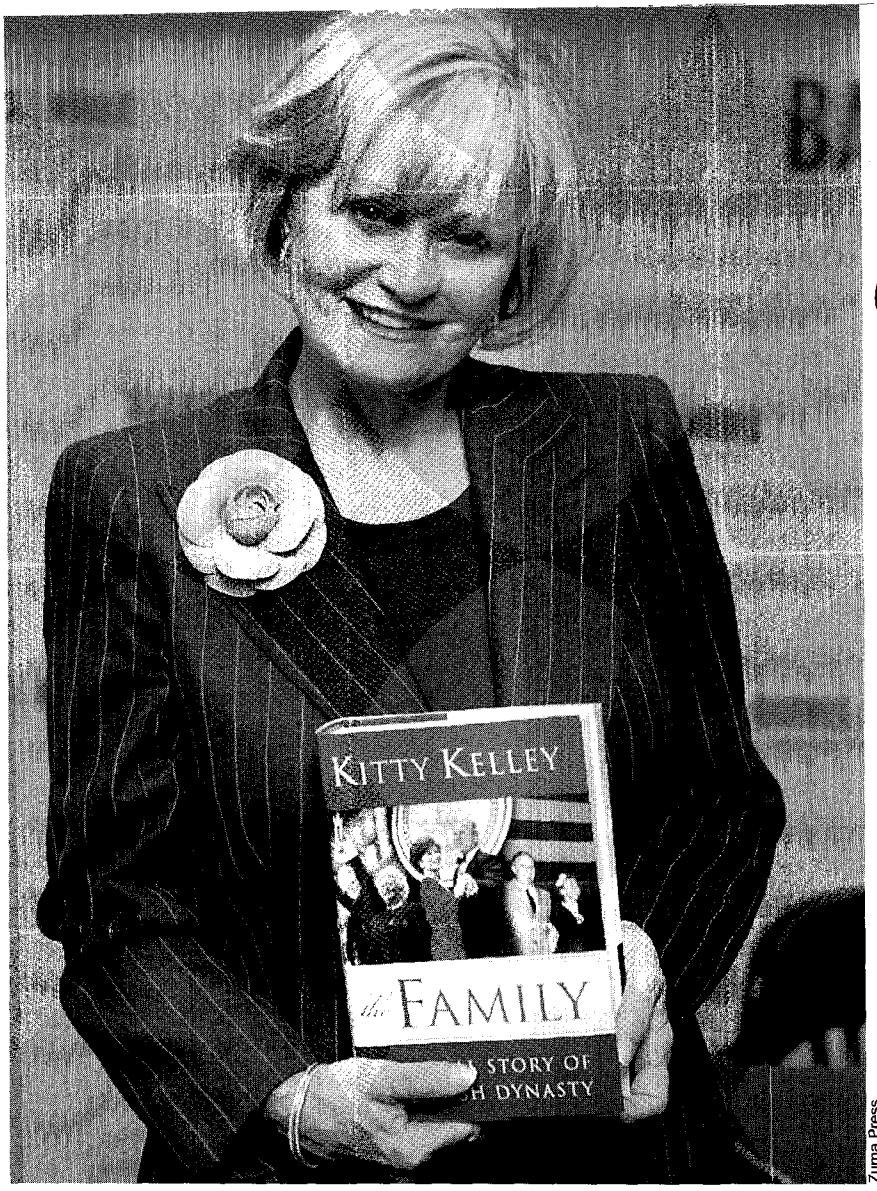
Meow!

Kitty Kelley claws the Bushes

By Andrew Ferguson



Zuma Press

"She wants respectability more than anything else," a friend of Kitty Kelley once told the *Washington Post*, but if that's true she sure has a funny way of going about it. With each of her celebrity biographies—first there was one on Jackie Kennedy, followed by Elizabeth Taylor, Frank Sinatra, Nancy Reagan, and the British Royal Family—respectability recedes further from Kitty's chubby little paws. The newsmagazines will no longer serialize her books, and reviewers for the *New York Times* regularly trash them, most recently in Michiko Kakutani's review last week of her latest, *The Family: The Real Story of the Bush Dynasty*. Even the insouciant Matt Lauer, balding host of the *Today* show, seems to be losing patience. His producers had booked Kitty for promotional appearances last week on three successive mornings, but instead of encouraging the author in a purring recitation of her new book's many charms, Matt sandbagged her. The face-to-face debunking required more nerve than skill—poking holes in a Kitty Kelley book isn't hard—but it did underscore the rude fact of Kitty's professional status: When respectable pressfolk deal with her, they prefer to use surgeon's gloves and a pair of long-nosed pliers.

It was not always so. There was a brief window in Kitty Kelley's career when respectability hovered within her grasp. *His Way: The Unauthorized Biography of Frank Sinatra* (1986), which among much else described Sinatra's mother as an abortionist and depicted Ol' Blue Eyes himself bellying up, so to speak, to a steak-and-egg breakfast served off the bosom of a Las Vegas prostitute, had been praised in most establishment circles. Then, in 1987, she announced that her next subject would be Nancy Reagan. Within months the *Washington Post*, whose proprietress Katharine Graham was close to Mrs. Reagan, ordered up the definitive profile of Kitty Kelley. Exhaustively reported and cheekily written by Gerri Hirshey, the story appeared in three installments in October 1988. It ran to over 25,000 words, a sordid tale of personal betrayals and professional malfeasance, and it established, beyond a reasonable doubt, that its subject was a bit of a head case.

The Family
The Real Story of the Bush Dynasty
by Kitty Kelley
Doubleday, 705 pp., $29.95

The best source on that was Hirshey herself. "Shortly after I'd begun my research," Hirshey wrote in the article's first installment, "anonymous mail began to arrive." There were anonymous phone calls, too, including one from an unnamed woman who shouted, "Do you DARE tell the truth about one of Washington's most esteemed citizens?" But the letters were more frequent and more interesting. They "fol-

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Doubleday

lowed my investigations from Spokane [where Kitty grew up] to Georgetown to New York." They carried various return addresses, some of them nonexistent, and "praised Kitty Kelley, limned her accomplishments, her kindnesses to small and crippled children." Not all the notes were anonymous—some were signed by fabricated names—and not all were flattering; at least one contained a sinister tip about Kelley's personal life, which, bizarrely, proved false. And most of the notes, according to a forensic analysis undertaken by the *Post*, were typed on typewriters known to have been used by Kitty Kelley for other business correspondence.

Of course, Kitty had never been "one of Washington's most esteemed citizens," and now she never would be; respectability slipped forever from her grasp with the publication of the *Post* profile. The Reagan book, completed in 1991, might have provided some consolation—that, and the $4 million advance she received for it. Her next book, on the Windsors, was much less successful, failing even to find a British publisher willing to risk England's libel laws. This new book on the Bushes, dropped squarely on a president universally disliked by the respectable press and in the midst of a difficult reelection, may be her one last play for respectability—which must make the garroting at the *Today* show and the *Times* even more painful. So it goes. As Kitty herself once explained, when people criticize her taste or her reporting or her prose, "I say, 'I'm sorry, I'm on my way to the bank.'" Exactly. How many tummy tucks will respectability buy you?

It's too bad for Kitty that her reputation is now beyond salvage, because *The Family* shows a writer working at full throttle, in complete command of her gifts. I don't mean this ironically. She is a pathographer: a writer of biographies whose sole editorial principle is to include every unflattering bit of information about a subject she can, while leaving to one side anything that might appear exculpatory or complicating. (The pathographer's motto: *If it's a sin, put it in.*) Her theme is as ancient as it is implausible—that the rich and celebrated, the successful and well-endowed, lead lives as squalid and pathetic as the lives of the readers who buy her books. She knows that in the popular culture the mere fact of celebrity is vastly more important than its cause. Whether someone becomes famous for singing good songs, like Frank, or marrying well, like Jackie and Nancy, or marrying often, like Liz, or getting elected president, like the two Bushes—it really doesn't matter. Celebrity itself is enough to bring the chumps into the tent. Celebrity itself justifies a pathography.

That's one reason her books all end up resembling one another, regardless of the particulars of the lives she examines. Character types recur. In *The Family*, veteran Kitty readers will see that Barbara Bush is Dolly Sinatra, minus the abortions—cold, ambitious, calculating, steeped in ethnic resentments—and both resemble Mrs. Reagan's mother, too, who's a lot like Liz Taylor's stage-door mom. The pre-presidential George W. has much in common with poor Frank Sinatra Jr.: feckless, fun-loving, driven by the neglect of a distant dad to drunkenness and worse, while clawing the apron strings of a monstrous mom. Ronald Reagan is George H.W. Bush: amiable, a bit clueless, uxorious. Prescott Bush, the patriarch, is Lloyd Davis, Mrs. Reagan's stepfather, who (if I'm not mistaken) is the same as Liz's Conrad Hilton: austere and honorable and aloof and rich, presiding over a clan torn apart by dark secrets that even they themselves dare not reveal! And around them orbit the minor characters, the walk-ons drawn from melodrama, caught in their stock storylines: the shady businessman, the mousy virginal daughter, the well-meaning boob—the black sheep and the sacrificial lamb, the tragedy and dysfunction, the heartbreak and sorrow. And tons of sex.

In *The Family*, Kitty runs this repertoire with great confidence and skill. Yet as a pathographer she understands that many tasks required of the conventional biographer are beyond her talents, so she doesn't even try to pull them off. She may be nuts, but she's not stupid. Like her other books, *The Family* is haphazardly organized; she starts telling a straightforward chronological tale, and maintains it with failing strength for nearly two-thirds of the book, until at last she says the hell with it and begins tossing in stuff almost at random—whatever pops out of her card file: In the middle of a discussion about George H.W. Bush and taxes, we get an unexpected story about a California congressman who once saw the elder Bush in the shower and describes the president's "little stick"; in a discussion of the Lewinsky scandal, Kitty suddenly lets drop that Laura Bush, in college, was a dope dealer. As a narrative strategy it's chaos, but it does keep a reader on his toes. Doze off reading a Kitty Kelley book, and you're bound to miss something.

In the same way, she makes no more than a cursory gesture at placing her story in a larger context: historical, social, political, all that jazz. She's not a big-picture gal, and of course she doesn't need to be. When she feels forced to stand back and summarize, for the sake of her readers, some larger

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political current or historical epoch—"The class of 1964 had watched a dizzying swirl of history: Roger Maris hitting his sixty-first home run on October 1, 1961; John Glenn's three-orbit space mission in Mercury *Friendship* on February 20, 1962; the Cuban missile crisis eight months later; Martin Luther King's 'Letter from a Birmingham Jail' in April 1963; and the U.S. arrival of the mop-top Beatles in February 1964"—you can't help but think, "Oh no! Kitty's been watching the History Channel again!" It's as if in such passages she's winking at her reader: *I've got to toss in this high-brow jive for Michiko Kakutani*, she's saying, *but you and I both know why we're here, so hang on, there's something good coming up soon.* (You also think, if you're like me, *Did she say "mop-top"?*)

Doubleday

The Bush family in 1999.

And there is something good coming up soon, always. The good stuff isn't necessarily what Kitty thinks it is, however. I particularly enjoyed discovering untypical signs of fanciness in her prose; in *The Family* Kitty litters her text with far-fetched similes and metaphors as never before. "George was as smooth as an eel slithering through oil." Bill Clinton, during the 2000 presidential campaign, "was the dog's mess in the living room." When George H.W. Bush learned of the Supreme Court's "one man, one vote" decision in 1964, "their ruling fell back in his lap like a bowl of rich cream." Is it surprising that a writer so often accused of sleaziness has become obsessed with dry-cleaning?

The world by now has learned of the other "good stuff," what Kitty herself calls her book's "major revelations"—and if the world hasn't, it's because her sources are so transparently feeble that the respectable press has declined to transmit them. Kitty's use of unnamed sources is a marker of all her books, but of the sources that are identified in *The Family*, some are surprising even for her.

Her account of George W. Bush procuring an abortion for a girlfriend in the 1970s comes from, believe it or not, Larry Flynt. Other sources, while named, are insufficiently identified. Evidence for Barbara Bush's "anti-Semitism"—"'There'll be no Jews in our family,' she said"—comes from the testimony of Cody Shearer, whom Kitty calls a "former journalist." Yes, indeed: Shearer's previous journalistic coup was the discovery of Brett Kimberlin, the convicted bomber and pathological liar who became briefly famous for saying he'd sold pot to Dan Quayle.

Another frequently used source, surfacing here and there to make snippy remarks about George W.'s boorishness in college and after ("It was just like talking to a Sears repairman") is a man named Mark Soler, identified as a member of Bush's Yale class of '68. Kitty declines to tell her readers that Soler has grown up to be an avowed political enemy of Bush's, as president of a "public-interest" law firm funded in part by George Soros, who's not crazy about Bush either. For her account of Bush's tour in the National Guard she relies on Bill Burkett, identified last week as the possible source of the forged documents used by Dan Rather and CBS News.

Some readers might conclude from Kitty's promiscuous use of such sources—and from the far-fetched, unsubstantiated stories she tells from other sources she doesn't name—that this particular pathographer, perky though she is, has no standards. Not true! In one amazing passage, in the middle of the book, after the unverifiable tales of adultery and drunkenness and deceit, Kitty suddenly assumes the role of hard-headed fact-checker. She repeats a revealing story frequently told about George W. Bush's college years, and then, her ethical antennae quivering with outrage, she sets about to debunk it. For those of us who have followed Kitty's career, this is a rare privilege—seeing her take the trouble to marshal evidence and weigh probabilities in full view of the reader, rather than just asserting a casual slander, attributing it to an anonymous source, and moving on.

Unfortunately, the story that rouses Kitty's unusual skepticism is told by George W. Bush, and the person slandered by it, so Kitty thinks, isn't Bush but the Reverend William Sloane Coffin, a once-famous antiwar activist who was chaplain during W.'s years at Yale. Bush's story goes like this: In 1964, following his father's loss to a liberal Democrat, Ralph Yarborough, in the Texas Senate race, W. had a brief chat with Coffin on the Yale campus. "Oh, yes," Coffin said, "I know your father. Frankly he was beaten by a better man."

Bush has told this story often as an illustration of Yalie elitism and left-wing self-satisfaction, but Kitty—well,

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frankly, she's not buying it. She grabs her big magnifying glass, she tugs on her Sherlock Holmes deerstalker, and she gets to work. "The first time George mentioned the incident with Coffin to anyone was when he was being interviewed by *Texas Monthly* in 1994," she writes. This isn't true, as it happens, since Bush had mentioned it to both his parents at the time, as Barbara Bush has made clear elsewhere, but anyway, Kitty's busy theorizing: "Running for governor of Texas, George may have felt he needed to country-boy his Ivy League credentials" by making up such a story.

In 1999, when Bush's mother confirmed the story to the *Washington Post*, Coffin denied it. Bush, now governor, wrote Coffin a note: "I believe my recollection is correct. But I also know time passes, and I bear no ill will."

Maybe that sounds kindly to you, maybe it sounds gracious. Not to Kitty—to Kitty it sounds mighty defensive. So she continues to gather evidence. Even though she has said elsewhere that many of them declined to be interviewed by her, she announces that none of W.'s dorm mates—"not one"!—has a contemporaneous recollection, thirty years later, of the young Bush relating the Coffin story in 1964. She quotes "one Yale man in George's class" (Mark Soler?) who doubts the incident took place. She notes that Mrs. Bush didn't mention the story in her own memoir. And finally comes the QED, the final nail in the coffin of this lie: "To those who know William Sloane Coffin, an avowed human rights activist, the story seems preposterous."

Actually, this isn't true either. To those who know William Sloane Coffin, a preening and vainglorious blowhard, the story is perfectly plausible. But it is a wonderful thing, in all the thousands of pages of all the pathographies that Kitty has written, to discover her, at last, applying rules of evidence and standards of proof. Yes, the standards are low and the rules are rigged, but still. This odd method is, to her, revealing: "By the time George W. Bush told his Reverend Coffin story in 1994, he had entered the political arena in which truth was frequently the first casualty."

She's repulsed. ♦

The Candied Decade

Terry Southern and the story of the 1960s.

BY CYNTHIA GRENIER

This biography, *The Candy Men*, has one whale of a come-on as its subtitle: "The Rollicking Life and Times of the Notorious Novel *Candy*." The name of the "notorious" novel probably won't resonate strongly with anyone who didn't experience the 1960s, but many will recognize two films nominated for Academy Awards scripted by *Candy* coauthor Terry Southern: *Dr. Strangelove* and *Easy Rider*—works nearly as emblematic of that period as the Beatles.

The Candy Men
The Rollicking Life and Times of the Notorious Novel Candy
by Nile Southern
Arcade, 408 pp., $27.95

Indeed, there's a reason Terry Southern's picture is among the crowd that fills the cover of the Beatles' *Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band* album: The man was everywhere, for one brief moment, a success story of hip writing and hip living. A failure story, as well, of course, for the man who was everywhere ended up nowhere. Who now reads Terry Southern? His readers, like his books, have fallen to dust and blown away.

Terry Southern died in 1995, forgotten and unproductive, but his son Nile Southern has attempted to create in *The Candy Men* a coherent portrait of his father's time, working from a chaotic, confused, and seminal mass of debris. The result—produced from letters, legal documents, telegrams, and odd notes scrawled on crumpled paper napkins—reads like a lengthy cut-and-paste job.

Terry Southern and Mason Hoffenberg met in Paris in 1948, both on the G.I. Bill, nominally enrolled at the Sorbonne, each finding in the other a kindred spirit, and sharing a sense of humor. Life meant sitting around in the cafés of St. Germain des Près, drinking and smoking and above all talking. In time, drugs and alcohol played a role as well.

Along the way, they met a publisher named Maurice Girodias, and in a giddy burst, the three of them conceived and wrote a joke novel called *Candy*. It was a kind of pornographic take-off on Voltaire's *Candide*, in which a young American virgin finds herself unable to say no to any quirky sexual situation the authors could create. The 1968 film version had a star-studded cast—Richard Burton, Marlon Brando, Walter Matthau, James Coburn, John Huston, and Ringo Starr—and got as spectacularly bad reviews as a film could possibly receive. It's available on DVD for those curious enough to verify critical and popular judgment.

In the interest of full disclosure I should say that I too was in Paris during those days, many a night in the Café de Flore and Café des Deux Magots. I came to know many of the people mentioned in *The Candy Men*. The story the book covers concerns the conception of *Candy* and the subsequent years of legal entanglements with French publisher Girodias, and it was for me like some strange kaleidoscope, as page after page referred to memories I had long buried.

On page 11, for instance, the name of Austryn Wainhouse appears. I'd first known him in Albert Guerard's writing class at Harvard, along with John Hawkes and Frank O'Hara, and then a

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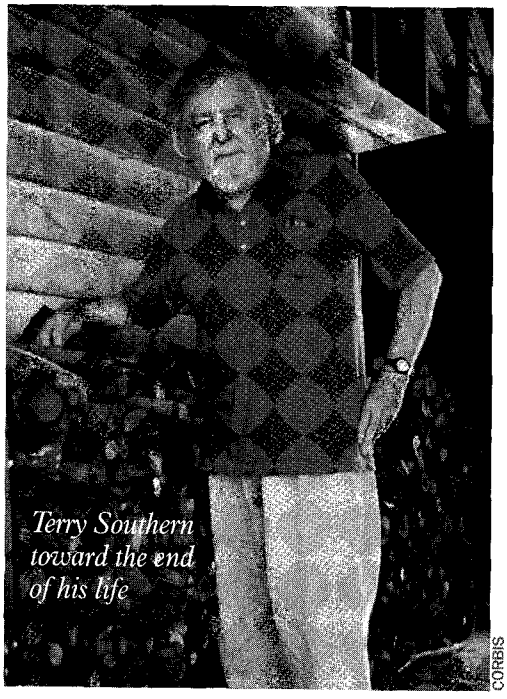
little later in Paris, where his wife Muffie was working in the Code Room of the American Embassy. They helped my husband and me find our first apartment on the Left Bank. They were also the first anti-Americans I'd ever met. Austryn studied the Marquis de Sade, whose works at that time were banned both in France and the United States. The Wainhouses eventually separated—she to pursue an affair with Girodias and he eventually to translate all de Sade's books. On May 6, 2001, Muffie died in Corrales, New Mexico, where she had been the innkeeper of a bed and breakfast.

I knew Maurice Girodias as well. He was a second-generation pornographer whose English father, Jack Kahane, published under the imprint of Obelisk Press the works—by Henry Miller and Frank Harris and the like—that several generations of American tourists smuggled past U.S. Customs coming back from Paris. On his death, the day after World War II broke out, he left his printing plates, artwork, and rights to his son, who took his mother's maiden name (Kahane having been Jewish) to avoid being arrested by the Germans while he lived out the Occupation in Paris.

Given to publishing what the trade called "d-b's"—dirty books—for an under-the-counter trade to British and American visitors, Girodias started up one imprint slyly entitled the "Traveler's Companion Series" and another—little dark green-colored books—under the name of Olympia Press. He trolled the cafés of St. Germain des Près questing for would-be writers, engaging them—at $300 to $500, decent money in those days—to indulge in their erotic fantasies, publishing them under colorful pseudonyms.

Sometime in the mid-1960s I interviewed Girodias for an article I'd been commissioned to write on pornography for some now long defunct men's magazine. Although Nile Southern makes Girodias out to have been a pretty dashing and cool character in his time, I recall describing him to friends at the time as a geek. I do recollect one thing he had to say about the writing of pornography, however. He said that the trouble was most writers only had one erotic fantasy, and once that was written, they had nothing left to say. This was why, he claimed, he was always on the lookout for new writers. He asked if I'd be interested and sent over to our apartment a big carton of his little green books as inspiration for me.

Girodias did publish a few books that at the time wouldn't have been able to find a respectable publisher but now can be found in just about any good-sized bookstore, particularly *Lolita* (Southern describes at length the complicated legal problems of Nabokov), *The Ginger Man*, and *Naked Lunch*. *Candy*, however, found an eminently proper American publisher in 1964, Putnam, whose editors got some admirable advance blurbs from the likes of William Styron, Dwight Macdonald, James Jones, and Robert B. Silvers. But the *New York Times* and the *Chicago Tribune* refused to advertise the book, while *Publisher's Weekly* referred to "sick sex and pulp writing." Then Nelson Algren wrote the first national review of *Candy* for *Life* magazine, calling Southern "a first-rate writer." And as his son puts it, "the press began to package him as a self-made man who had arrived to save America from its stuffy Puritanism and Eisenhower hangover."


Terry Southern toward the end of his life

CORBIS

While coauthor Hoffenberg stayed on in Europe, Terry Southern was on hand in the United States to appear on television, also having coauthored the much-praised script of *Dr. Strangelove*. The sloppiness of the coauthors' original arrangements led to squabbles, and eventually Putnam split the royalties: 40 percent to Southern, 40 percent to Hoffenberg, and 20 percent to Girodias, though most of the money disappeared in legal fees. The share-out ultimately in 1970 was $9,000: "the bitter and paltry spoils of a dissatisfying war."

In 1965, the U.S. district attorney judged *Candy* was not a suitable vehicle for prosecution, and in 1966, Burroughs's *Naked Lunch* was the last work of fiction to be censored by the Post Office. As author Southern puts it: "The world finally was safe for erotic works of the imagination to see the light of day." He goes on to quote Edward de Grazia, then the lawyer for Grove Press, who "finds our *revolution*, in terms of sexual expression, particularly in the works of the imagination, remains quite secure." But today de Grazia finds alarming "the term of *terrorism* in the hands of this [Bush and Ashcroft] administration." Young Southern comments, "Indeed, unprecedented rollbacks are in many ways more chilling yet undefined labels than 'pornographer' and 'pornography' ever were."

Well, it's not a surprise he should think so, I guess. What's left for him to rebel against? The last decades of the lives of the authors of *Candy* were sad and dismal: drugs and liver cancer for Hoffenberg in 1986; drink and deep depression for Southern in 1995.

As for Girodias, he was felled in 1990 by a heart attack while promoting his autobiography on French radio. The 1960s were long, long over for them all—and having abused and squandered their talents, they found they had nothing but leftover life to kill. ♦

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Shrinking the President

A mind is a dangerous thing to psychoanalyze.

BY IRWIN SAVODNIK

One can only wonder what turn the opponents of George W. Bush will take next. From a Bush-hater's handbook to a how-to-assassinate-Bush novel, the venom flows freely and furiously as the election draws near. One recent effort is Justin Frank's *Bush on the Couch*, a psychoanalytic hatchet job that insists the president is grotesquely unstable, delusional, and power-mad—a cognitively impaired man whose sense of right and wrong is, according to the author, the product of simple-mindedness.

Bush on the Couch
Inside the Mind of the President
by Justin A. Frank
Regan, 272 pp., $24.95

Frank, a professor of psychiatry at the George Washington University, takes up his clinical concerns about the president right in the book's introduction. How, he asks, can such a friendly, playful man cut funds from government programs for the poor? How can such a religious man bomb Iraq? How can he send American soldiers into combat "under false pretenses" and then joke about the deception? How can someone who has promised to protect the environment also allow increased arsenic in the water supply? And why is such a "people person" so unwilling to talk to world leaders such as Jacques Chirac and Gerhard Schröder? "How," Frank concludes, "can the president sound so confused and yet act so decisively?"

Frank's "clinical findings" might be put another way: How can someone who disagrees with me not be crazy? The author of *Bush on the Couch* sounds like a Soviet psychiatrist around 1950. In those days, when Stalinism was a cosmology, political dissidents were often sent to psychiatric hospitals as schizophrenics—the substance of their mental illnesses being their divergent political beliefs. Having recently interviewed a series of psychiatrists in Russia and the Baltic states, I came away with the impression that the psychiatrists who diagnosed and treated these people really believed their patients had psychiatric disorders. They never seemed to question the fact that all the criteria of illness were political rather than medical ones. And neither does Frank. The president dissents from Frank's view of the political world, and therefore science tells us that the president is insane.

Within the broad blanket of psychoanalytic theory, Frank subscribes to the view of an intimate of Freud's early circle, Melanie Klein, who believed the foundations of character were located in the first year of life, a period in which the infant is without benefit of language. Klein's theory excites many analysts who believe it explains such things as paranoia and depression (even, conveniently, attention deficit disorder, from which, according to Frank, George W. Bush suffers). From the perspective of science, however, there is not the kind of evidential support one would request, say, of a pharmaceutical company that was introducing a new product. Mostly, there are the case reports in the psychoanalytic journals that stand alone, are suggestive, stimulating, but open to considerable criticism when it comes to the truth of the matter.

But if these kinds of carefully written clinical reports based on the psychoanalysis of individual patients are subject to substantial doubt, imagine the level of Frank's alleged clinical account of the president. Frank acknowledges he never met Bush, much less interviewed him on his couch. There is not an ounce of psychoanalytic material in the entire book. There are only third-party reports, commonly from detractors, of the president and his family. Frank justifies his method with the argument that others, such as Jerrold M. Post, have conducted "at-a-distance leader personality assessments." Freud himself tried it, when he collaborated with the journalist William Bullitt on a book about Woodrow Wilson, but it was, to say the least, not a high point of Freud's career.

Other violations of rational discourse pepper the pages of *Bush on the Couch*. Frank is convinced Bush suffers from the disease of alcoholism. The idea of alcoholism as a disease can be a helpful metaphor, but to transform a figure of speech into a substantive medical diagnosis is bizarre. Frank might peruse the index of any standard textbook of pathology. There will be no citation of a disease called alcoholism—or schizophrenia, for that matter. Nor does he seem ever to have considered that none of his conjectures, diagnoses, and clinical impressions has anything to do with medicine.

Mostly, though, Frank is blind to the underlying silliness of his enterprise. As an analyst and a psychiatrist, he has presumably learned to be forbearing, not judgmental, and not prejudicial. But his diagnoses in *Bush on the Couch* are nothing more than moral and political indictments that he offers as "scientific determinations." The election will prove a better diagnosis of President Bush. ♦

Irwin Savodnik is a psychiatrist who teaches at UCLA.

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"We're counting on your book sparking a 'So Bad It's Good' public reaction."

Books in Brief

***Inside the Asylum: Why the United Nations and Old Europe Are Worse Than You Think* by Jed Babbin (Regnery, 196 pp., $27.95).** A deputy undersecretary in the first Bush administration, Jed Babbin is no isolationist—but nowadays even internationalists see an enemy in the United Nations. Like many polemics, Babbin's *Inside the Asylum* sometimes lurches into character assassination when the real problem is almost purely structural. Under the U.N. Charter, criminal tyrannies enjoy the same privileges as the greatest democracies. This perversion, long an embarrassment to principled diplomats, has now become dangerous for international security.

Dictatorships and rogue states today make up a large majority of the General Assembly and, outside of the Security Council, essentially run the entire show. The consequences include Libya's farcical presidency of the U.N. Human Rights Commission. Less comical are the brazen corruption of the Iraq Oil-for-Food Program; the shield the U.N. provides for any state that wants nuclear weapons; and the U.N.'s open support for groups like Hamas and Hezbollah.

Worst of all, the U.N. has proven inimical to its own purposes. The "unique legitimacy" that Kofi Annan claims on behalf of the Security Council should follow from unique obligations. But as a legal matter, the Security Council has no obligations at all, and naturally does nearly nothing. America has had no choice but to fill the vacuum, taking upon itself the onerous responsibility of preventing threats to world peace and enforcing international law, while the U.N. emerges as an increasingly dangerous obstacle to both. Given the swarm of petty interests vested in the current system, reform is inconceivable. Woodrow Wilson would almost certainly urge us, as Babbin does, to abandon the failed experiment—and try again.

—Mario Loyola

***Weapons of Mass Distortion: The Coming Meltdown of the Liberal Media* by L. Brent Bozell III (Crown Forum, 265 pp., $25.95).** In August 1999, the national media became obsessed with rumors that George W. Bush had used cocaine in his youth, while they essentially ignored admissions of Al Gore's long-term marijuana use. When Bush's daughter Jenna was cited for underage drinking, the media were on top of it—but where were the media when the Gore children had their own similar and equally newsworthy brushes with the law?

This is no coincidence, says L. Brent Bozell, founder and president of the Media Research Center—the largest organization in America devoted to documenting liberal tendencies in the mainstream press. In *Weapons of Mass Distortion*, Bozell cites example after example of double standards and deception. Here's one: Americans are increasingly moving toward the pro-life position in the debate over abortion, and a 2003 survey conducted by the Center for the Advancement of Women found a majority of American women are now pro-life. The major networks—ABC, NBC, and CBS—chose not to cover this story at all.

In 1994, Newt Gingrich accepted a $4.5 million advance from publisher HarperCollins, which is owned by Australian media mogul Rupert Murdoch, who also owns the conservative Fox News Channel. The deal immediately became a scandal, and the media called for Gingrich to surrender the advance.

But when Hillary Clinton accepted her $8 million advance for her book, there was no outrage, even though her publisher, Simon & Schuster, is an arm of Viacom, which owns CBS—the network that bashed Gingrich the hardest.

If these examples don't madden you, read Bozell's chapter on the 2000 election, which explores the networks' botched handling of the closing of polls in the Florida panhandle. It is perhaps the most devastating example in the book of media gone awry, and reason enough to hope that Bozell's prophecy—that the liberal media's days are numbered—comes true.

—Erin Montgomery

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Three-year-old girl has her Bush-Cheney sign torn up by Kerry-Edwards supporters awaiting the arrival of John Edwards at the Tri-State Airport in Huntington, W.Va.
(AP PHOTO/Randy Snyder, Thursday, Sept. 16, 2004)

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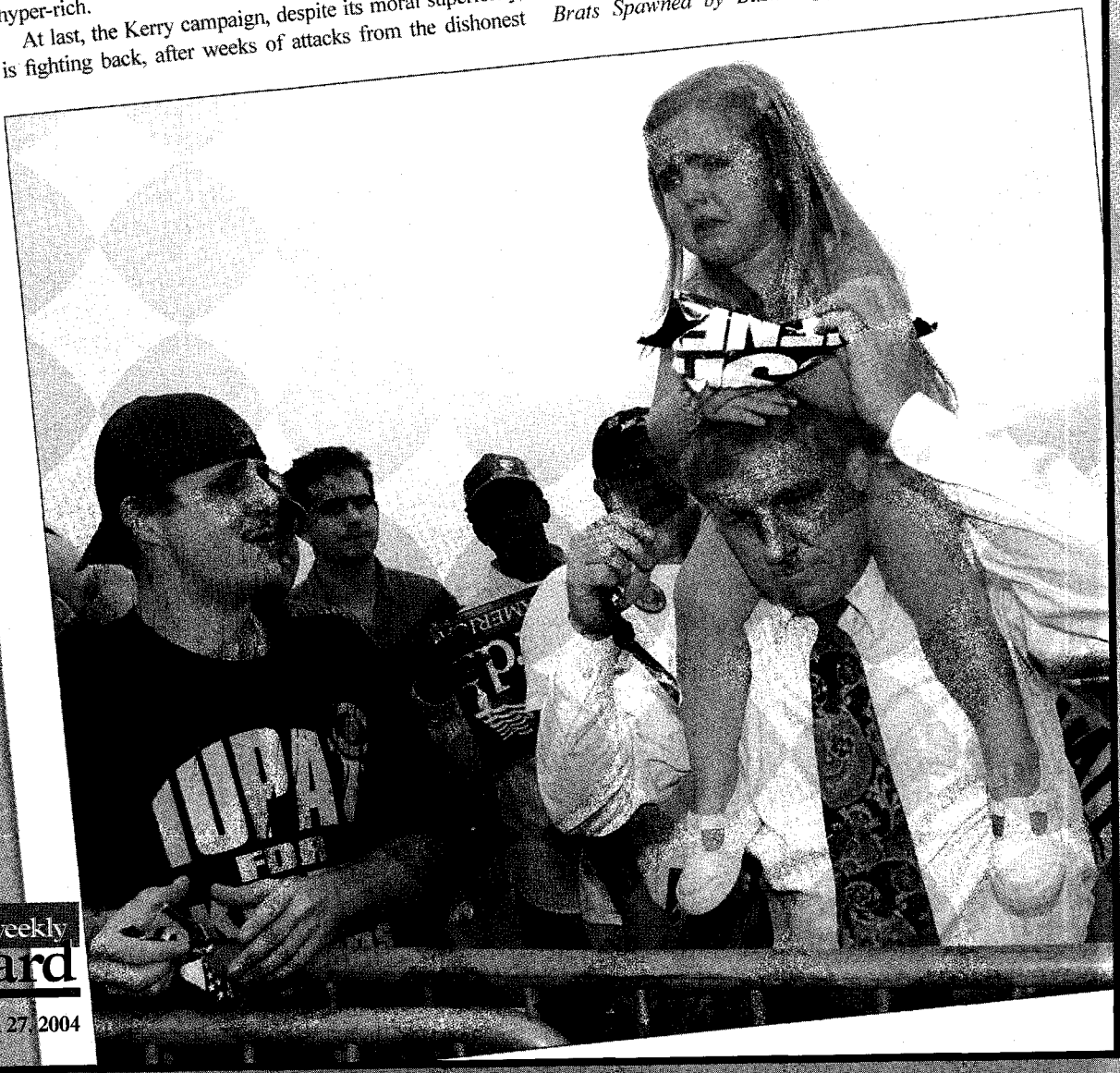
3-year-old who can't control her emotions in the ordinary give-and-take of one of the most important presidential campaigns of her lifetime does not belong in politics. "So now she can't take it?" says Carville. "Well, boo-de-hoo-de-hoo!"

Is it perhaps going too far to call the girl "vile"? Hardly. By falsely shading the truth with his dishonest mendacious double-talking prevaricating lies, Bush has made his supporters fair game. Don't like seeing 3-year-olds assaulted by a gang of Kerry supporters? Well, Dubya should have thought of that when he dishonestly told false lies about the budgetary impact of his lying tax cuts for the super-duper-hyper-rich.

At last, the Kerry campaign, despite its moral superiority, is fighting back, after weeks of attacks from the dishonest Bush attack machine. Joe Lockhart notes that one teacher described the girl as "slovenly." Democrats ought to make sure this story gets around, even if their superior morality, honesty, and decency make them hesitate. Did the Bush attack machine hesitate to run the Swift boat ads?

One teacher at Upper Greenmeadow Nursery School in suburban Pittsburgh gave a painful wedgie to a 4-year-old sporting a Bush button at a class picnic. We're happy to hear it. But is it too little, too late? For too long, the lying, mendacious goon squads who control the second-grade lunch rooms and first-grade tetherball lines have questioned the patriotism of their classmates, enf orcing unanimity and shutting them out of the debate. In an astute passage in his book *Unto the Next Generation: The Loathsome, Lying Brats Spawned by Bush Supporters*, the columnist and



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No-Limit Child Care Funding

HOOVER DIGEST
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A strange thing happened in the Senate earlier this year. Thirty-one Republican senators joined forty-six Democrats in voting to increase federal child care funding by an additional $6 billion over the next five years, or by 25 percent. The vote was seen as a direct rebuff to the White House and the Republican-controlled Congress, who had called for a more modest $1 billion increase.

In some respects the vote was moot, being dependent on the reauthorization of welfare reform—which languished and then died at the hands of a Senate parliamentary procedure.

But **the debate over child care funding signals a shift in conviction. For the first time a powerful group of Republicans believe that a major component of welfare reform is lacking.**

Is welfare-related child care really underfunded? Let's take a quick look.

When Congress debated welfare reform in 1996, annual child care funding totaled $3.2 billion. In the six years after its enactment, total child care funding increased 250 percent, to some $11 billion.

Surprisingly, the additional resources were not primarily the result of new government spending. Welfare reform allowed states to use the money they saved by moving welfare recipients off the rolls and into jobs to help pay for child care expenses. As a result of these transfers, more than twice as many children received subsidized child care in 2002 than did in 1996.

Another way to examine the adequacy of child care funding is to look at the results of welfare reform. If women with children were not securing work, were failing to keep jobs, or were reenrolling in welfare, that would be a clear signal that the system was failing in its mission.

No such evidence exists. Welfare roles have been cut in half—to levels not seen since 1970. Employment rates of single mothers with children under age six (those with the greatest need for child care) are 13 percentage points higher than in the booming 1990s. And nearly three million fewer children are in poverty today because their mothers' earnings continue to rise.

What's really behind the call for more federal child care funding is a political mind-set that views our nation's wealth as an endless resource for solving societal ills. From this perspective, any need can be met if enough money is allocated to it. No matter how many times this formula fails to work and even exacerbates the problem, it never really dies.

The end to no-limit child care funding will come when our elected officials realize that welfare reform is not just about lifting families out of poverty. It's about a return to personal responsibility and civic compassion that will safeguard millions of women and children against future dependency.

—Jeffrey M. Jones

Jeff Jones is a research fellow at the Hoover Institution. This essay is adapted from an essay in the forthcoming/fall issue of the Hoover Digest, *which will appear in mid-October. To receive a free issue of the* Digest, *call 800.935.2882.*

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